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Timurids in Transition

Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran

by

Maria E. Subtelny

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On the cover: The Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, depicted holding a rose, at a drinking party at his court in Herat. Painting by Bihzād. From a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Būstān*, copied for Sulṭān-Ḥusain. Herat, 893/1488. MS, Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organisation, Adab fārsī 908, fol. 2a.

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Timurid motto

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND STYLE

In the transliteration of Arabic and Persian words, I have adopted the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, with the exception of the Arabic letters *th* and *dh*, which I have rendered by means of *s* and *z* in transliterating Persian. In cases where Arabic phrases have been embedded in a Persian text, or where works written in Persian have purely Arabic titles, I have transliterated these according to the Persian system.

In transliterating words from Turkic languages and Mongolian, I have not "Persianized" them by indicating the long vowels they are usually written with in Persian sources. Since this study is concerned with the nexus between Turko-Mongolian and Persian cultures, I have retained the Turkic or Mongolian forms of proper names (e.g., Temür instead of Timūr), titles (e.g., *kürgän* instead of *kurgān*), and terms (e.g., *törä* instead of *tūra*), which do not distinguish between long and short vowels and which are subject to a certain vowel harmony. Whenever possible, I have vocalized Turkic and Mongolian terms in accordance with the entries in Gerhard Doerfer's *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, although without his idiosyncratic use of macrons. Otherwise, the transliteration of consonants in Turkic and Mongolian words follows the above-mentioned Persian system. However, the frequent overlap between the Turko-Mongolian and Persian forms of certain terms (e.g., Turkic *tümän*, Persian *tūmān*), and the difficulty of ascertaining the correct vocalization of some Turko-Mongolian names from their spelling in the Perso-Arabic script (e.g., Īrānjī > Erenji? Iränji?), which is ill-suited to the complex vowel system of Turkic languages, have necessarily resulted in some inconsistencies in transliteration.

Arabic, Persian, and Turkic terms that have entered the English language, such as shaikh, qadi, sayyid, dervish, khan, etc., have not been italicized and are spelled as in *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, with the exception of such terms as *vazīr* and *amīr*, the particular connotations of which are not conveyed in the context of this study by the Anglicized forms vizier and emir. The names of geographical regions and other toponyms in the text are given in the forms most readily recognizable in English and rendered without diacritics (e.g., Khorasan, Herat). Less well-known toponyms have been transliterated following

the above-mentioned Persian system, according to the forms in which they appear in the Persian sources (e.g., Gāzurgāh, Injīl). The toponyms indicated on the maps, however, have been rendered without diacritical marks. In the bibliography, the notes, and in general matters of style, I have followed the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

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INTRODUCTION

This book is concerned with the ways in which a nomadic empire based on Turko-Mongolian concepts of socio-political organization and an economy fuelled by plunder adapted to the sedentary Iranian society it conquered and over which it ruled. More specifically, it deals with the dynastic empire established in Central and West Asia by the post-Mongol warlord Tamerlane (Turkic form, Temür; Persian and Arabic forms, Tīmūr or Taimūr), whose descendants, known collectively as the Timurids, were forced to make the transition from a sprawling nomadic polity to a vastly reduced state based on Perso-Islamic ideals and agrarian values.

The study focuses on the last Timurid Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, a great-great-grandson of Temür, whose rule from 1469 to 1506 over the large eastern Iranian province of Khorasan (encompassing present-day north-eastern Iran, western Afghanistan, and southern Turkmenistan) spanned a period that corresponds roughly to one-third of the entire duration of the Timurid dynasty, from the death of Temür in 1405 until the Uzbek conquest in 1507. His period of rule thus represents a sufficiently substantial time period to allow for the identification and analysis of trends that had roots in the early part of the fifteenth century and that manifested themselves more fully in its final decades.

I was originally drawn to the late Timurid period because of the sophisticated artistic and literary achievements that arguably make it the most outstanding period in the cultural history of the medieval eastern Islamic world. But the growing number of studies that have been devoted to the art, architecture, and literature of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's period have only put into sharper relief the many questions that remain unanswered about the nature of Timurid state and society, its administration, and socio-economic bases. I was struck by the fact that, although the sources describe the cultural achievements of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time and the patronage of his court, they are almost equally as enthusiastic about his agricultural interests and contributions to the agricultural development of Khorasan, the large eastern Iranian province in which his capital city of Herat was located. In order to investigate what appeared to me to be an important aspect of Timurid social and economic history, I devoted several studies to

an analysis of the Persian agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirā'a*, which is unique in describing the agriculture of the Herat region during the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and in my *Le monde est un jardin: Aspects de l'histoire culturelle de l'Iran médiéval*, I discussed some of the characteristic features of medieval Persian cultural history from the perspective of agriculture and its quintessential symbol—the garden.

The present study seeks to develop this agricultural theme within a broader conceptual framework by applying the ideas of Max Weber regarding the bases of authority in history, in particular, the concept of charisma and its transformation, or "routinization," to use Weber's terminology, to the case of Temür and the Timurids. Weber is not a contemporary political theorist, but his typology has withstood the test of time, and there has even been a resurgence of interest in his seminal ideas. The Weberian concept of patrimonialism which, paradoxically, is one of the forms into which charismatic authority may be transformed, and especially Weber's model of the patrimonial household state, have been applied successfully to the study of Mongol regimes, such as that of the Yüan dynasty, by Thomas Allsen, whose work has greatly informed my own interpretation of the Timurid polity. Weber's ideas have also been applied to the analysis of such medieval Islamic states as the Mughal empire by Stephen Blake, who made an important modification to the patrimonial household model in order to account for the introduction of bureaucratic features under the influence of Persian administrative traditions.[1] The polity established by Temür's descendants, particularly as reflected in the late Timurid period under Sulṭān-Ḥusain, corresponds to the model of what Blake has called the patrimonial-bureaucratic regime.

The notion of transition is usually associated with movement in history from one form of socio-political or socio-economic organization to another. The process of transition, calling for the modification and even abandonment of deeply rooted concepts and firmly held identities in favour of others that are unfamiliar or even contradictory, is never easy. Nor is the process of transition, which is usually marked by tensions between competing ideologies and loyalties, necessarily completed. Such was the case with the transition that I have alluded to in the

[1] The patrimonial household model has also been applied to the study of the ancient Near East. See J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 51–53, 255–316.

title of the book, with the contending sides being represented by the Turko-Mongolian conquerors and their military elites on the one hand, and the Iranian Muslim sedentary population and its bureaucratic and religious elites on the other. At the same time, against the backdrop of a political competition that often resulted in open conflict and loss of human life, both sides were subjected, albeit unequally, to a mutual acculturation, as Jean Aubin demonstrated in his penetrating study of the complex relationship between Mongol military commanders and Persian administrators during the Ilkhanid period in Iran.[2]

This study seeks to answer a number of questions, such as why the descendants of Temür were obliged to make the transition from a nomadic empire to a sedentary form of government in the first place; what the nature was of the polity they established and how might it best be characterized; what competing political forces were in play during the process of transition, and what effect did their competition have on its outcome; and finally, what mechanisms did Timurid rulers employ in their attempt to effect the transition to a more centralized, sedentary state.

I argue that the descendants of Temür retained many features of their Turko-Mongolian cultural identity and Chinggisid-inspired ideology in the organization of their state, which was essentially patrimonial in nature, while at the same time adopting features of Perso-Islamic bureaucratic administration and actively promoting the agrarian economy of their sedentary subjects. By the end of the reign of the last effective Timurid ruler, Sulṭān-Ḥusain, they developed the agricultural potential of the large eastern Iranian province of Khorasan, where their capital was located, to a level that was unprecedented in the post-Mongol period. They did so by expanding the area under cultivation through hydraulic construction, and by utilizing popular Islamic shrines as vehicles for developing and managing agricultural activity in several key regions of Khorasan. By applying techniques that had been introduced into the financial administration of the state to the administration of the large shrine complexes they patronized through the Islamic institution of *vaqf*, the Timurids, especially under Sulṭān-Ḥusain, were able to maximize revenues from the agricultural lands belonging to the shrines' endowments, and thereby maintain themselves

[2] See Jean Aubin, *Émirs mongols et vizirs persans dans les remous de l'acculturation* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1995).

financially in spite of the strong decentralizing trend inherent in their patrimonial regime.

The development of my argument is reflected in the organization of the book. In the first chapter, I offer an analysis of Temür's empire and the polity established by his descendants in terms of the Weberian concepts of the routinization of charismatic authority and the model of the patrimonial household state. I attempt to demonstrate that Temür's ancestral background in the Ulus Chaghatay predisposed him to uphold Chinggisid customary law and Turko-Mongolian forms of socio-political organization. I argue that while the basis of Temür's authority was his personal charisma, the early Timurid polity fits the Weberian model of the patrimonial household state. But since Temür's descendants ruled over a sedentary Muslim population, they had to adapt to the exigencies of sedentary rule and adopt the model of the Perso-Islamic state. This resulted in tensions between two competing ideological tendencies, the one Turko-Mongolian and the other Perso-Islamic. I discuss those deep-rooted aspects of Timurid customary law and practice that presented the greatest obstacles to making the transition from a patrimonial household state based on Chinggisid organizational principles and nomadic values to an Islamic sedentary state on the Persian model.

In chapter 2, I discuss the rise to power of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, a descendant of the most senior of the Timurid lines, with whose long reign the Timurid dynasty came to an end at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In many ways, his reign encapsulates the contradictions that existed within the Timurid state and in Timurid culture throughout the fifteenth century. I take into account his long period of vagabondage before coming to power, during which he formed a loyal guard corps that became part of his household once he conquered Khorasan and captured the throne of Herat. Sulṭān-Ḥusain inherited an administrative system that since Temür's time had differentiated between the military and civilian branches of government, represented by the Turkic military elite and the Persian bureaucratic intelligentsia, respectively. I present a general description of the Timurid dual administrative structure and suggest that the distinctions between the two branches of government became blurred when high-ranking Persian bureaucrats were granted membership in the Timurid household establishment.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the growing tensions between the two competing ideological forces in the Timurid state, that came to a head during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign. The professionalization of the Timurid bureaucratic administration, which began under Temür's son and successor Shāhrukh, and which was part of the trend toward the "routinization" of the Timurid polity, brought the highly competent Persian *vazīr* Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khvāfī and his son Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad into positions of power in an administration dominated by the Timurid military elite. I discuss the role of Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad in implementing a policy of bureaucratic reform under the aegis of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, that was designed to address the fiscal crisis brought on by the succession struggles after the death of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's predecessor, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd.

Majd al-Dīn's reforms aimed at centralizing the Timurid fisc by curtailing *soyurghal* grants of tax immunity and other privileges enjoyed by members of the military elite and household establishment, which contributed to the withholding of much-needed revenues from the central treasury. The reforms were vigorously opposed by members of the Timurid household establishment and military elite, who interpreted Majd al-Dīn's policies as an attack against the *törä*, or Timurid custom. I discuss the conflict that ensued between Majd al-Dīn and Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, the famous Timurid cultural and political figure, which I interpet as epitomizing the competition between the "innovative" Tajik bureaucratic elements in the Timurid regime and the "traditional" interests of the Turkic military elite and household establishment. The opposition to Majd al-Dīn, which resulted in his ouster and eventual murder, marked the failure of the Timurids to make the transition to a fully centralized and bureaucratically rationalized state on the Persian model. The description provided in this chapter of Majd al-Dīn's trial by the Turko-Mongolian court of investigation (*yarghu*) attests to the survival of this central Chinggisid institution in late Timurid Iran, despite wishful statements to the contrary by members of the Islamic religious establishment.

The failure to implement centralizing reforms in the Timurid fisc necessitated the turn to more intensive agriculture, and chapter 4 is devoted to this topic. I discuss the views on agriculture that were articulated by the authors of Persian mirrors for princes written expressly for Timurid rulers, and I argue that, recognizing its importance, Sulṭān-Ḥusain turned to the expansion and intensification of agriculture in the Herat region as a means of solving the problems plaguing the Timurid fisc. The personal interest he evinced for scientific agriculture and the attention he accorded to garden culture betoken the high degree of government involvement in agricultural and horticultural activity

during his reign. An analysis of Timurid scientific manuals relating to the agriculture and hydrology of the Herat region indicates that accurate record-keeping and the use of professional accounting techniques were major factors contributing to the success of the intensive irrigated agriculture of Khorasan during the late Timurid period. Further investigation into the backgrounds of their authors and sources of information points to the endowed shrine complex as the administrative and organizational locus of agricultural activity.

Chapter 5 elaborates on the connection between agriculture and the Islamic pious endowment, maintaining that, under the proper conditions, *vaqf* could play a positive and dynamic economic role in the organization of agricultural activity. The late Timurid period experienced a marked increase in the number of endowments, consisting for the most part of agricultural lands and water resources. On the basis of a comparative analysis of extant deeds of endowment from both Khorasan (Iran) and Transoxiana (Central Asia) of the Timurid period, I argue that a characteristic feature of the administration of pious endowments in Khorasan was the emphasis on accounting and financial management techniques, which helped ensure the maximization of revenues from agricultural lands belonging to the endowed foundations.

A chief source utilized in this analysis is the endowment deed (*vaqfiyya*) of Afaq Begim, one of the wives of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, for her mausoleum in Herat. Besides shedding considerable light on landholding patterns in the Timurid capital region of Herat, this original document supports the observation that women belonging to Turko-Mongolian elites acted as major donors in medieval Iran, and it reinforces the perception that female patronage of funerary architecture derived from Central Asian tradition. In appendix 1, I survey the extant deeds of endowment pertaining to Khorasan and Transoxiana from the Timurid period, and in appendix 2 I provide an annotated translation, together with a facsimile edition, of Afaq Begim's deed of endowment, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the only original deed of endowment relating to the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's rule.

In chapter 6 I present the thesis that the Timurids, and Sulṭān-Ḥusain in particular, patronized the major Muslim shrines in eastern Iran through endowment activity in order to utilize them as vehicles for managing agricultural activity in the agrarian oases of Khorasan. I discuss three of the most important tomb shrines that were developed by the Timurids into large complexes with a considerable proportion

of the cultivated land in Khorasan under their control: the shrine of the eleventh-century Sufi saint ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī at Herat, the shrine of the eighth Shiʿite *imām* ʿAlī Riżā at Mashhad, and the shrine of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at Mazar-i Sharif near Balkh. Both the Herat and Mashhad shrines were constructed and endowed largely by Shāhrukh and his wife Gauharshād, and all subsequent Timurid rulers of Herat, including Sulṭān-Ḥusain, as well as members of their military and administrative elites, contributed to their further development and endowment.

Located in the Timurid capital region, the Anṣārī shrine enjoyed particularly lavish patronage, which was motivated in part by the Timurid dynasty's desire to legitimate its rule over the Muslim population of eastern Iran by associating itself with Herat's ancient Persian patron saint. It is my contention that the employment of professional personnel in the areas of management accounting and scientific agriculture made the Anṣārī shrine a model for the administration of other shrine complexes that were located in similarly productive agricultural regions of Khorasan.

The case of the ʿAlid shrine at Balkh provides the most compelling evidence in support of my thesis. Taking advantage of the popular practice of the visitation of the tombs of Muslim saints and Sufis, Sulṭān-Ḥusain, together with members of the Timurid military and religious elite, supported the miraculous "rediscovery" of the purported tomb of ʿAlī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the first Shiʿite *imām*, using it as a pretext to develop the Balkh region hydrologically and agriculturally. Without discounting the evidence that points to the pre-existence of a sacred tomb at the site, I explore the immediate motives behind this new development project, which appears to have been necessitated by the fact that the agricultural expansion of the Herat region had reached its limits and new agricultural lands had to be made available in order to accommodate Herat's growing population, as well as to generate additional revenues for the continually cash-strapped central treasury. Proof of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's personal involvement in the Balkh project is provided by documentary evidence that he engaged in the sale of agricultural properties and water shares belonging to the state in the vicinity of the shrine in order to privatize them, presumably for the purpose of subsequently conveying them to *vaqf* for the shrine. Appendix 5 contains an annotated translation of these documents of purchase and sale, which have been preserved in an early sixteenth-century Hanafite notarial formulary.

The conclusions that may be drawn from this study are that the Timurid transition from a nomadic polity based on a booty economy to a centralized bureaucratic state on the Persian model was stymied by opposition from members of the entrenched Turko-Mongolian elites, who sought to preserve their corporate identity through adherence to Chinggisid custom, although not to the exclusion of their engagement with Perso-Islamic culture. The resultant Timurid polity may thus be characterized as resembling more closely the modified Weberian model of the patrimonial-bureaucratic regime that combined a patrimonial household/guard establishment on the political and military levels, with traditional Persian bureaucratic and chancery practices on the administrative level.

The sources

As V. V. Bartol'd once noted, the problem with the Timurid period is not the lack but rather the great number of primary sources available to the researcher.[3] Although Bartol'd complained that the majority of these were still unpublished, the situation has improved considerably since his time. Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign is perhaps the best documented in terms of the scope of the written sources, which are primarily in Persian, but also in Chaghatay Turkish and Arabic. To provide an idea of the range of genres, they include historical chronicles and dynastic genealogies, local histories and historical geographies, biographical and hagiographical works, and treatises on agriculture, hydrology, and even equestrian science, not to mention the many illustrated manuscripts that were produced under Timurid patronage. While I rely on the standard Timurid chronicles, I have also made use of a number of sources not normally consulted by those concerned purely with political history. These include agricultural and hydrological manuals, manuals of accounting and bureaucratic procedures, works on political ethics, and juridical handbooks, some of which are available only in manuscript form. Although the Timurid period cannot compare with the Mamluk and Safavid periods in terms of the number of extant archival documents, particularly deeds of endowment and Sharī'a court registers,

[3] See V. V. Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir i politicheskaia zhizn'*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 199 (originally published in 1928).

many documents, such as diplomas of appointment and grants of tax exemption, have been preserved in the Timurid collections of chancery prose (*inshā'*) and model letters (*munsha'āt*), that were composed by professional scribes.

A large number of important works on the Timurids has appeared since Bartol'd's groundbreaking studies *Ulugbek i ego vremia* (Ulugh Beg and his time) and *Mir Ali-Shir i politicheskaia zhizn'* (Mīr 'Alīshīr and political life).[4] On the historical side, I have profited greatly from the excellent studies on Temür and the early Timurids by John E. Woods, Beatrice Forbes Manz, Shiro Ando, and S. M. Grupper. For the role and culture of shrines in Central Asia, the studies of Devin DeWeese, Jürgen Paul, and Jo-Ann Gross represent the groundwork for my own work, while in the area of economic and agrarian history, I have relied on the works of Soviet scholars like I. P. Petrushevskii and R. G. Mukminova. In interpreting documentary materials and the technical terminology they employed, I have adopted the studies of O. D. Chekhovich on Persian diplomatics as a model. As for the Islamic institution of the pious endowment and its administration from a historical perspective, I am especially indebted to the work and methodological approach of Robert D. McChesney.

The many impressive volumes that have appeared in the past few years on Timurid art and architecture, such as Thomas Lentz and Glenn Lowry's *Timur and the Princely Vision*, Bernard O'Kane's *Timurid Architecture*, and Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber's *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, have contributed to the growing awareness and appreciation of the cultural importance of this period. My own contribution is to view the Timurids from the standpoint of the Weberian paradigm of the routinization of charisma, and to examine the process of their transition from a nomadic to a sedentary polity, a process in which both Turks and Persians were inevitably swept along by the forces of acculturation, to borrow Jean Aubin's turn of phrase. If the paradigm I have proposed, the thesis I have put forward, and the evidence I have adduced elicit scholarly response and further discussion, this study will have achieved its goal.

[4] V. V. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek i ego vremia*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 25–196 (originally published in 1918); and Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 199–260. For English translations, see V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. V. Minorsky and T. Minorsky, vols. 2–3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958–62).

CHAPTER ONE

THE ROUTINIZATION OF CHARISMA: THE TIMURID PATRIMONIAL HOUSEHOLD STATE

Temür and the Weberian Concept of Charisma

In accordance with the typological classification developed by Max Weber for the forms of legitimate domination in history, we may characterize the rise and rule of the nomadic warlord Temür (d. 807/1405), as having been based on charismatic authority. Temür's ambition was to recreate the Mongol empire and reinstate the old Chinggisid order, and he did so as much by force of his own personality as through political machination and manipulation.[1] In Weber's view, charisma accounted for the role of the personal element in history, and he saw it as a creative revolutionary force that could disrupt rational rule, tradition, and even all notions of sanctity. At the same time, he acknowledged that charisma was intrinsically unstable, as the leader had to continually prove himself in order to maintain his legitimacy in the eyes of his followers.[2]

In the case of Temür, the Turko-Mongolian conception of authority based on charisma (*qut*) rather than birthright meshed with Perso-Islamic notions of divinely bestowed kingly glory (*farr*), good fortune (*daulat, bakht*), and manifest destiny (*maqdūr*).[3] Weber's concept of charisma was first applied to the assessment of Temür's career by Eric Voegelin who, in an intuitive essay, demonstrated how he was viewed by the

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[1] For a study of Temür in the context of the tribal politics of the Ulus Chaghatay, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 41–65.

[2] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischoff et al., 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 1:241–45, 2:1111–19; and H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946; repr. ed., 1974), 245–52.

[3] See Omeljan Pritsak, "The Distinctive Features of the 'Pax Nomadica'," in *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1988), 2:751–52; and John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 6, 20. For the system of ultimogeniture in Turko-Mongolian customary law, see C. E. Bosworth, "A Turco-Mongol Practice amongst the Early Ghaznavids?" *Central Asiatic Journal* 7, no. 4 (1962): 239–40.

early Humanists who sought to explain the role of fortune (*fortuna*) in the course of world history. Voegelin noted that the portrayal of Temür by Renaissance writers actually captured the essential nature of his historical situation more accurately than did later assessments of him that were based on either psychological or purely pragmatic notions of causality.[4] That portrayal was based in part on reports by such contemporary European observers as Bertrando de Mignanelli and Jean of Sultaniyya, who in some instances even contributed to the mythical enhancement of his image.[5]

Not that Temür's image needed enhancing, for he was extremely adept at manipulating it himself in ways that attest to a deep appreciation for historical precedent combined with a flair for the esoteric.[6] As if to underscore the cosmic dimensions of his own perceived universalist mission, Temür adopted the honorific title, "Lord of the auspicious conjunction" (*ṣāḥib-qirān*), by which he is known in the Persian historiographical tradition.[7] He claimed to communicate with the divine world through an angel, to have prophetic dream visions, and to read the thoughts of his followers.[8] Perhaps most astutely, he linked himself genealogically to two meta-historical figures who were embodiments of charismatic authority in the politico-ideological and religio-cultural spheres, respectively—Chinggis Khan (d. 1227), whose avatar he claimed to be, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), the first Shiʿite *imām* and Perfect Man of esoteric Islam.[9] Not surprisingly, this dual genealogical connection conferred on his "appalling career," to use David Morgan's frank assessment, the aura of something akin to sacral kingship.[10]

Even historians inimical to Temür were impressed by the affirmation he was accorded by his followers, a crucial feature and the litmus test of charisma, according to the Weberian definition.[11] In his polemical history of Temür entitled *ʿAjāʾib al-maqdūr fī nawāʾib Taimūr* (The marvels of destiny concerning the calamities wrought by Temür), the Damascene historian Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 1450), whose attitude toward Temür is often patently hostile, nevertheless captured something of the quasi-shamanistic power that he reputedly exercised over his followers by depicting their attachment to him in terms customarily used to denote the spiritual bond between a Sufi adept and his spiritual master:[12]

> [His followers] took him as their guide and protector independent of God, glorying in this and being outrageously insolent [about it]. Indeed, their denial of Islam (*kufr*) and their love for him were so great that had he claimed the rank of prophet or even divinity, they would have believed him in his claim. Each and every one of them sought to gain God Almighty's favour through devotion to him, making a vow to him when they fell into dire straits and [then] fulfilling it. They persisted in their false belief and their denial of Islam throughout his lifetime, and after his death they brought offerings to his tomb and made [ritual] sacrifice there. So strong was their [psychological] attachment (*muṣāḥaba*) to him that they attained the [spiritual] stage (*maqām*) where they [were able to] visualize [him] contemplatively (*murāqaba*).[13]

[4] See Eric Voegelin, "Das Timurbild der Humanisten," in Eric Voegelin, *Anamnesis: Zur Theorie der Geschichte und Politik* (Munich: R. Piper, 1966), 153–78 (first published in 1937).

[5] See Tilman Nagel, "Tamerlan im Verständnis der Renaissance," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15, no. 2 (1996), 1:205–12; and H. Moranvillé, ed., "Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour par un Dominicain, en 1403," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 55, no. 5 (1894): 462–63. By way of example, in Jean's account we find a reference to Temür's having ascended to heaven on a ladder, guided by an angel, the forty rungs of the ladder symbolizing the length of time he was destined to rule.

[6] See Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 14–16.

[7] I.e., whose destiny is governed by the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Venus. For the cosmological significance of the title and previous applications of it, see Tilman Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer und die islamische Welt des späten Mittelalters* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993), 10–13, n. 18; and Nagel, "Tamerlan," 212.

[8] See Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963): 88–89.

[9] For Temür's links to both, see John E. Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 85ff.; Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty," *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988): 110–17; A. A. Semenov, "Nadpisi na nadgrobiiakh Tīmūra i ego potomkov v Gur-i Ėmire," *Ėpigrafika Vostoka* 2 (1948): 52–53, 57–58; and Denise Aigle, "Les transformations d'un mythe d'origine: L'exemple de Gengis Khan et de Tamerlan," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 89–90 (n.d.): 161–63.

[10] David Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797* (London: Longman, 1988), 98. For the concept and parallels in Late Antiquity, see Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Monotheistic Kingship," in *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh and János M. Bak (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 12–14.

[11] Weber, *Economy and Society* 1:242, 2:1114–15; and Robert C. Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," *Daedalus* 97, no. 3 (1968): 737.

[12] For Ibn ʿArabshāh's background and particular perspective on Temür, see R. D. McChesney, "A Note on the Life and Works of Ibn ʿArabshāh," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of Professor John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, in collaboration with Ernest Tucker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 206–7.

[13] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjāʾib al-maqdūr fī nawāʾib Taimūr*, ed. Aḥmad Fāʾiz al-Ḥimṣī (Beirut, 1407/1986), 479. For the meaning of the technical terms *muṣāḥaba* and *murāqaba* in the lexicon of classical Sufism, see Richard Gramlich, trans., *Das Sendschreiben al-Qušayrīs über das Sufitum* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1989), 271–74.

The Limits of the Booty Economy

Like all nomadic empires established in an astoundingly short period of time, Temür's was dependent not on regular taxation revenues and a rationally organized bureaucracy but on a "booty economy" that represented both the means and the end of its mission. As such, it could only be sustained through perpetual conquest and ruthless personal control made possible by the flexibility afforded by the absence of a formal administrative structure.[14] This too was in keeping with the notion of charismatic authority that rejects anything that restricts the mission and personal will of the leader, including all rational economic conduct. The empire built up by Temür thus necessarily contained the kernel of its own demise. Temür had already divided up his realm among his four sons and their descendants during his lifetime, possibly in imitation of his model, Chinggis Khan, albeit without sacrificing central control. But predictably, soon after his death, the empire disintegrated into so many parts. Not only had the limits of territorial expansion been reached, but as a result of internecine warfare among the various Timurid princes, the territory of the former Timurid empire became seriously eroded, thereby curtailing the seemingly inexhaustible sources of conquest revenue on which it had been dependent.[15]

The problem facing Temür's successors was how to maintain political control and legitimacy without the charismatic leader's galvanizing presence. While their descent from Temür alone conferred on them a lineage or clan charisma that was recognized in the post-Chinggisid politico-military sphere dominated by Turko-Mongolian tribal elements, it was not sufficient to legitimate their authority over the sedentary Islamic regions of greater Iran and Central Asia, particularly in the socio-religious and economic spheres.[16] It became clear fairly early on that there was a need to reorient the ideological and economic bases

[14] See Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Administration and the Delegation of Authority in Temür's Dominions," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20, no. 3 (1976): 206–7; and Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 107ff.

[15] For the internecine struggles following Temür's death, see R. M. Savory, "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the Death of Tīmūr," *Der Islam* 40, no. 1 (1965): 35–65; and Hans Robert Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit: Iranische Geschichte von 1350–1750* (Beirut: Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 1989), 121ff.

[16] On the concept of hereditary or lineage charisma, which recognizes the legitimacy of an individual's inherited position, not of his charisma as such (which he may not even possess), see Weber, *Economy and Society* 1:248, 2:1135–39.

of the post-Timurid empire. Temür's descendants necessarily had to transform the Timurid polity from a nomadic empire based on particularistic ideals and exploitative taxation practices into a rationalized bureaucratic structure that was based on regular revenue flow derived from taxation of the agrarian economy, and that was legitimated by adherence to Perso-Islamic principles governing the organization of state and society.

In this respect, the empire founded by Temür may be regarded as a case study of what Max Weber referred to as the "routinization of charisma," according to which economic factors served as the chief impetus for the reorganization of administrative structures and redefinition of the raison d'être of the state.[17] But the transition from a loosely administered nomadic empire based on the charismatic personality of the warlord Temür to a centralized polity organized along more rationalized bureaucratic lines under his successors was by no means easy or even assured. Adherence to certain Chinggisid customary practices that were central to Timurid political culture, and the prevalence of Turko-Mongolian concepts of socio-political organization represented major impediments to such a transition. A discussion of the most salient of these practices and concepts will demonstrate the ways in which they hindered the process of transition and conflicted with longstanding Islamic legal norms and traditional Persian conceptions of government and administration.

Timurid Origins and Chinggisid Custom

Although they were Muslims, the Timurids, like all Turko-Mongolian tribal groups, also adhered to their own customs and traditions, which remained a potent force in Timurid political culture until the end of the dynasty.[18] Usually referred to by such locutions as "the triumphant *törä*" (*törä-i qāhira*) and "the *törä* of the Lord of the auspicious conjunction" (*törä-i ṣāḥib-qirānī*), the Timurid *törä* represented Turko-Mongolian custom as practiced by Temür, his descendants, and their Chaghatay

[17] See Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1121–23; and Gerth and Mills, *From Max Weber*, 253–55, 262.

[18] See V. V. Bartol'd, *Dvenadtsat' lektsii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 5, ed. S. G. Kliashtornyi (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), 171.

followers.[19] This is evident from the fact that it is also often referred to as the "rule" (*dastūr*) of the Timurid sultans, or the "regulation" (*qā'ida*) of the Chaghatayids, or simply as the "ancient custom" (*sunnat-i qadīm*).[20] It appears to have overlapped and complemented the Chinggisid *yasa*, as the formula "in accordance with the *yasa* of Chinggis Khan and the *törä* of His Excellency, Lord of the auspicious conjunction" (*bi-mūjib-i yasa-yi Chīngīz Khānī va törä-i ḥażrat-i ṣāḥib-qirānī*), which was frequently cited by Timurid historians and chroniclers, indicates.[21] Even though the terms *yasa* and *törä* were sometimes used interchangeably, it appears that the Timurid *törä* differed in some respects from "pure" Mongolian customs, as is clear from references to this effect in various sources.[22]

Just as the Chinggisid *yasa* does not appear to have been a fixed written code of law, but rather an evolving body of individual decrees, regulations, and practices that had been instituted or sanctioned by

[19] For the term *törä*, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963–75), 1:264–67. The word, which occurs in all Turkic languages, is attested in the Old Turkic inscriptions in the form *törü*, meaning order, regulation, law—see *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), 581, s.v. *törü*; also Pritsak, "Distinctive Features," 751. It became a loan word in Mongolian, and in Persian it occurs in the form *tūra*. Bartol'd surmised that this spelling may have represented an attempt to associate the word with the Torah of the Jews—see Bartol'd, *Dvenadtsat' lektsii*, 171.

[20] The last phrase is very telling and it appears to confirm Robert Irwin's statement about the *törä* being "the pagan steppe equivalent of the Muslim *Sunna*." See Robert G. Irwin, "What the Partridge Told the Eagle: A Neglected Arabic Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early History of the Mongols," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 10. For an example of its use, see Daulatshāh b. 'Alā' al-Daula Bakhtīshāh al-Ghāzī al-Samarqandī, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, ed. Edward G. Browne (London: Luzac, 1901), 531.

[21] See Shiro Ando, *Timuridische Emire nach dem Mu'izz al-ansāb: Untersuchung zur Stammesaristokratie Zentralasiens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1992), 223 (citing Khvāndamīr's *Nāma-i nāmī*). For the term *yasa*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 4:71–82, s.v. *yāsāq*.

[22] For example, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, who was a Timurid on his father's side and a Chinggisid on the mother's side, described certain rituals he witnessed on a visit to his Mongol relatives as unfamiliar customs—see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Bābur's Rival Relations: A Story of Kinship and Conflict in 15th–16th Century Central Asia," *Der Islam* 66, no. 1 (1989): 113–15. To cite another example, the Timurid Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara was surprised by the ritual prostration he was required to perform before the Chinggisid khan of the Qipchaq steppe, Abū al-Khair Khan, and he initially refused to do so—see Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār-i afrād-i bashar*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1333/1954–55; 3rd repr. ed., 1362/1984), 4:132. The descriptions of Uzbek court ceremonial in sixteenth-century Transoxiana also make the differences clear—see V. V. Bartol'd, "Tseremonial pri dvore uzbetskikh khanov v XVII veke," in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Iu. É. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 388–99.

Chinggis Khan, so too did the Timurid *törä*, which embodied the customs and practices introduced by Temür and consciously cultivated by his followers and descendants, remain a kind of unwritten "constitution."[23] The individual practices and customs it consisted of are thus known only through random references in the sources, often in the form of negative comparisons made between a certain practice and the prescriptions of the Sharī'a.[24] It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt a reconstruction of the Timurid *törä*, and given the scattered nature of the data, any presentation must in any case remain incomplete. Suffice it to say that, essentially, the *törä* represented Timurid customary law, and being based on Turko-Mongolian custom, it was concerned chiefly with such aspects of nomadic life as hunting and raiding, military discipline, and ceremonial. In a broader sense, the *törä* was a means for the Timurids to maintain their warrior culture and Chaghatay identity as distinct from the sedentary Iranian population, a point we will return to.[25] But, as noted by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur (d. 937/1530), the founder of the Timurid empire in India and a keen observer of Timurid and Mongol traditions, the *törä* was also flexible and could be adapted to changing circumstances:

> Previously our ancestors had shown extraordinary respect for Chinggisid custom (*törä*). They did nothing to contradict it either at their formal audiences or at court or at banquets and feasts or in [the etiquette they observed in] sitting and standing.[26] But Chinggisid custom is not a definitive text (*naṣṣ-i qāṭi'*) that a person must adhere to. If someone institutes

[23] For the problem of whether the *yasa* was ever written down, see D. O. Morgan, "The 'Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān' and Mongol Law in the Īlkhānate," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 163–66, 172–73; and David Morgan, "The 'Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan' Revisited," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 296–97. The Chinggisid *yasa* may itself be viewed as another redefinition or specific formulation of Turko-Mongolian customary law according to the practice of Chinggis Khan. The use of the word "constitution" to refer to Timurid family traditions was first suggested by John Woods—see Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 100.

[24] See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Fākihat al-khulafā' wa mufākahat al-ẓurafā'*, ed. Muḥammad Rajab al-Najjār (Kuwait, 1997), 553–56. For a discussion of this source, see Irwin, "What the Partridge Told the Eagle," 8–9; and Morgan, "'Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan' Revisited," 294–95, 306–7.

[25] For the problem of "Chaghatay" identity, see below.

[26] Babur is highlighting the ceremonial aspect of the *törä* here. His comment about sitting and standing is far from frivolous, however, as this was an all-important aspect of the etiquette of the patrimonial household which was in turn based on military discipline. For a reference to the Timurid *amīr*s all standing at service in the household of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, see Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*:

> a good regulation (*qā'ida*), it should be followed, but if an ancestor leaves behind something bad, then something good should be substituted for it.[27]

That Temür gave preference to the Chinggisid *yasa* over the Islamic Sharī'a and that he staunchly adhered to it in the administration of his empire are well-known facts.[28] His harshest critic, Ibn 'Arabshāh, even accused him of trying to "extinguish the Light of God and the Pure Faith [of Islam] with the laws of Chinggis Khan," which he said was for him the equivalent of the "positive law of Islam" (*furū' al-fiqh*).[29] It was Temür's adherence to the *yasa*, he explained, that prompted Syrian jurists to issue legal opinions to the effect that he should be considered an infidel.[30]

The Role of the Imperial Guard Corps (Keshik)

But Temür's relationship to Chinggisid customary law appears to have had deeper roots than has generally been assumed. Thanks to recent research findings which provide new comparative perspectives on Timurid origins from the standpoint of the historiography of the Mongol Yüan and Ilkhanid periods, we are able to achieve a better understanding of the role and status of Temür's Barlas tribe in the Ulus Chaghatay prior to Temür.

Shāmil-i aḥvāl-i vuzarā-yi Islām tā inqirāż-i Tīmūriyān, 914, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī (Tehran, 1317/1939; repr. ed., 2535/1976), 401.

[27] Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, *Babur-nāma (Vaqāyi')*, ed. Eiji Mano, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Syokado, 1995–96), vol. 1, fol. 186b (all subsequent references are to this volume); and Ẓahiru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma (Memoirs of Bābur)*, trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge (London, 1922; repr. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books, 1979), 298–99. For a discussion of the passage, see Stephen F. Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Bābur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483–1530)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 171. My translation of *qā'ida* as "regulation" follows that of Morgan in his discussion of the *yasa*. See Morgan, "'Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan' Revisited," 296.

[28] See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 100–101.

[29] Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr*, 395; and J. H. Sanders, trans., *Tamerlane, or Timur the Great Amir: From the Arabic Life by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah* (London: Luzac, 1936), 234. For the technical term *furū' al-fiqh*, which refers to the practical application of Islamic law, as opposed to *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which denotes the theoretical literature on the sources and methodology of jurisprudence, see Baber Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law: Legal and Ethical Norms in the Muslim 'Fiqh'* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 28–29.

[30] See Bartol'd, *Dvenadtsat' lektsii*, 171 (who gives the date for this as 1372, but without a reference). See also Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr*, 455; and Sanders, *Tamerlane*, 299.

Temür emerged politically from the region of Transoxiana (corresponding roughly to the present-day Republic of Uzbekistan), which had belonged to the appanage (*ulus*) of Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghatay. According to the Timurid genealogical history *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb* (The glorifier of lineages concerning the ancestral tree), which provides the genealogy of the Barlas tribe going back to the mythical female progenitor of the Chinggisids, Alan Qo'a, through the common ancestor Tümänay Khan, Temür's tribal ancestor Qarachar Noyon was the head of an elite military contingent that had been assigned to Chaghatay by Chinggis Khan himself:

> At the time when Chinggis Khan distributed his army and territories among his sons, he singled out for favour his second son, Chaghatay, who was a specialist on [Chinggisid] customary law and traditions (*yasa va yosun*).[31] He granted him [the territory] from the Altai mountains to the mid Syr Darya [river] and the far reaches of the Amu Darya [river], and he selected [for him] a contingent (*jam'ī*) from his own elite military corps (*az khulāṣa-i lashkar-i khvud*), the head (*muqaddam*) [of which] he made this Qarachar Noyon of the Barlas tribe (*qaum*). He (i.e., Chaghatay) trusted [him] completely with regard to his opinion, perspicacity, [knowledge of] the *yasa* and *yosun*, and bravery, and he turned over to his intelligence and wisdom the administration of [his] territories (*żabṭ-i mamālik*), the command (*imārat*) [of his household], and [the enforcement of] the *yasa* and *yosun* of that great ruler (i.e., Chinggis Khan).[32]

Qarachar's appointment as head of this contingent is corroborated by Mongol sources, most notably the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* ("The Secret History of the Mongols").[33] But it is the *Yüan shih*, the official history of the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China, that allows us to identify the

[31] For the term *yosun*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:555–57, s.v. *yōsūn*. It frequently occurs together with the word *yasa* to denote the entire range of Mongol customary laws and traditions.

[32] *Mu'izz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb*, MS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds persan 67, fol. 81b. Commissioned by Shāhrukh in 830/1426, the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was a continuation of the Mongol genealogy in the *Shu'ab-i panjgāna* by the Ilkhanid historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh. See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 85–86; John E. Woods, *The Timurid Dynasty*, Papers on Central Asia, no. 14 (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 1990), 7–9; and Sholeh A. Quinn, "The *Mu'izz al-Ansāb* and *Shu'ab-i Panjgānah* as Sources for the Chaghatayid Period of History: A Comparative Analysis," *Central Asiatic Journal* 33, nos. 3–4 (1989): 231, 243–44. For depictions of some Timurid genealogies, see David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 216–17.

[33] See Francis Woodman Cleaves, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols*, vol. 1, *Translation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard-Yenching Institute and Harvard University Press, 1982), §120, §243; and Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 90–91.

nature of that military contingent more precisely. According to S. M. Grupper, in listing the Mongolian tribes the Yüan could count on for support, the *Yüan shih* states that the Barulas/Barlas had belonged to Chinggis Khan's imperial guard corps, or *keshik*.[34] Hence, Temür's ancestor Qarachar Noyon was the head of the imperial guard corps that Chinggis Khan gave Chaghatay at the time of the division of the Mongol realm into appanages.

Combining the roles of elite military corps, royal bodyguard, and supervision of the princely household, the *keshik* was a central institution of Mongol imperial rule.[35] Because of its hereditary nature, it continued to function politically even after the death of the particular ruler it had served.[36] As demonstrated by Charles Melville, the institution survived well into the post-Mongol period of the history of Iran, constituting the core of Ilkhanid imperial government through the reign of Ghazan Khan.[37] Its persistence in the Ulus Chaghatay until the time of Temür has been demonstrated by S. M. Grupper in his pioneering comparative analysis that provides a new way of looking at the emergence and organization of the Timurid state.[38]

[34] See S. M. Grupper, "A Barulas Family Narrative in the *Yuan Shih*: Some Neglected Prosopographical and Institutional Sources on Timurid Origins," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 8 (1992–94): 21–38, 60–61, 77–81. The *Yüan shih*, which was completed in 1369–70, predates the standard Persian sources on Temür. For an assessment of this work, see Wolfgang Franke, "Historical Writing during the Ming," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, pt. 1, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 753. In his otherwise meticulous study of Temür's genealogy, John Woods did not take into account the information found in the *Yüan shih*, and hence concluded that the exact nature of Temür's origins remained obscure—see Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 116.

[35] For the functions of the *keshik*, see Thomas T. Allsen, "Guard and Government in the Reign of the Grand Qan Möngke, 1251–59," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46, no. 2 (1986): 509–10; Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 60, 99–100; C. C. Hsiao, "Lien Hsi-hsien (1231–1280)," in *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 482; and Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 38ff. For the term, which is spelled variously in Persian sources, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:467–70, s.vv. *kešīk, kešīkčī, kešīktän, kešīktü*.

[36] See Allsen, "Guard and Government," 507, 515–16; and Charles Melville, "The *Keshig* in Iran: The Survival of the Royal Mongol Household," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 161.

[37] See Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 150–55.

[38] See Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 84ff.

Like most Persian sources, the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* does not explicitly mention the *keshik*, thus corroborating Melville's insightful observation that the *keshik* was a "submerged" institution that is rarely mentioned in post-Mongol Persian sources which prefer circumlocutions instead.[39] It is nevertheless possible to interpret the description it provides of Qarachar Noyon's duties in light of this central Chinggisid institution and to deduce from it that Qarachar Noyon was the head of Chaghatay Khan's *keshik*. In accordance with the Chinggisid model of the patrimonial household whereby members of the imperial guard corps were appointed to the highest ranks of government administration, Qarachar Noyon became Chaghatay's chief administrator and legal executive.[40]

Based on Mongolian precedent, this can only mean that Qarachar was the *yarghuchi*, or chief judge, of the Ulus Chaghatay, a position that involved, broadly speaking, overseeing the administration of all the peoples and territories under the rule of the khan, as well as presiding over the court of investigation (*yarghu*) that was the chief instrument of enforcement of the *yasa*.[41] Support for this contention is found in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, which attributes to Qarachar the introduction of a certain legal measure into Chinggisid customary law that only a *yarghuchi* would have had the authority to enact. Citing as its sources "the historians of the Turks and the Mongols," the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* states right at the beginning of its entry on Qarachar that he was responsible for instituting the binding pledge (*möchälgä*) in the *törä* of Chinggis Khan.[42] The term *möchälgä* referred to a pledge that was secured by the khan

[39] Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 140–41.

[40] Later Persian sources, such as the *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, state that Qarachar was reponsible for the administration of the khan's household (*imārat dar khāna*)—see Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 93. Khvāndamīr refers to him as the "regulator of the affairs of the kingdom" (*mudabbir-i umūr-i mulk*)—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:77. Khvāndamīr's use of the term *mudabbir* is reminiscent of the Platonic "regulator of the world" whose function in the political philosophy of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274) was to preserve the Law and to oblige men to uphold its prescriptions. See Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Mujtabā Mīnuvī and 'Alīrižā Ḥaidarī (Tehran, 1360/1982), 253–54; and G. M. Wickens, trans., *The Nasirean Ethics by Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), 192. For a discussion of the model of the patrimonial household state, see below.

[41] For the terms *yarghu* and *yarghuchi*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 4:58–66. For the practice of appointing the head of the *keshik* as *yarghuchi*, and for the scope of his functions, see Allsen, "Guard and Government," 503–4, 510–11; and Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 138, 143.

[42] *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 81b (*vāżi'-i möchälgä dar törä-i Chingīz Khānī*). V. V. Bartol'd had already interpreted it as an innovation, but contemporary scholarship on Timurid origins seems to have ignored this important observation—see Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 50.

in writing, usually from members of the military elite, as an oath of allegiance or an obligation to execute a specific task, failure to fulfil which resulted in punishment.[43] The practice of securing such written pledges called *möchälgä* was continued under Temür.[44]

The *Mu'izz al-ansāb* thus affirms the military, administrative, and legislative functions that Qarachar fulfilled in Chaghatay's imperial household state, which correspond to those of head of the imperial guard corps and the household administration, and chief judge of the *yasa*.

As the descendant of the head of Chaghatay Khan's hereditary imperial guard corps, Temür was thus not a rootless parvenu but the scion of one of the great governing families of the Mongol empire.[45] Although having become somewhat déclassé by the end of the fourteenth century, the family still held the hereditary governorship of Kesh, a historically and strategically important region south of Samarqand, from the time that Qarachar Noyon's descendants had settled there.[46] For this reason Kesh was referred to as Temür's hereditary *tümän*, and his title *amīr* in fact represented an abbreviated form of *amīr-i tümän*, which denoted a commander of a military-administrative district capable of providing a force of ten thousand soldiers.[47] Temür would thus have been

[43] For the term, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:502–5, s.v. *möčälgä*. Although such pledges may earlier have been oral, they now appear to have been put in writing. This aspect of the elaboration of the *yasa/törä* deserves closer scrutiny, as it demonstrates how Chinggisid law evolved and sheds light on the thorny problem of whether the *yasa* was written down or not.

[44] For examples of its use under the Ilkhanids, see Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh [Hamadānī], *Ta'rīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī: Dāstān-i Ghāzān Khān*, ed. Karl Jahn (London: Luzac, 1940), 218 (where it is used as a synonym for *ḥujjat*, meaning "proof"); and Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-tawarikh (Compendium of Chronicles): A History of the Mongols*, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, MA]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998–99), 2:408–9 (where it refers to an oath of allegiance). For the ways in which it was used in Temür's time, see Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, fac. ed. A. Urinboev (Tashkent: Fan, 1972), fols. 175b, 210b, 238b (where it is always used with the verb *sitadan*, meaning "to secure," "to receive"), and fol. 207b (for a reference to the *möchälgächi*, presumably the official responsible for collecting such pledges).

[45] Thus Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 84.

[46] *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 82a. For Kesh (later Shahr-i sabz), see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, trans. E. Denison Ross, 3rd rev. ed., ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (n.p.: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1968; repr. ed., 1977), 134–36. Located nearby at Qarshi (formerly Nasaf/Nakhshab) was the palace of the Chaghatayid khan, built at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

[47] For the term and title, see Jean Aubin, "Le khanat de Čaġatai et le Khorassan (1334–1380)," *Turcica* 8, no. 2 (1976): 54; and Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:632.

expected to remain loyal to the Chinggisid house, and even though he was not strictly speaking a Chinggisid, he would have been perceived as being closely connected to the household of Chaghatay. The designation "Chaghatay" by which he and his followers were collectively known must have alluded first and foremost to this ancient association with Chaghatay Khan's household, and not just to the fact that they nomadized in the Ulus Chaghatay.[48]

As a sign of loyalty, Temür attempted to revive the house of Chaghatay by elevating figurehead khans.[49] He also married into the family of Chaghatay khan, thereby following a longstanding tradition of intermarriage between the family of the khan and members of his *keshik*, and assuming the Chinggisid title *kürgän* (imperial son-in-law).[50] Moreover, given Qarachar Noyon's prominence as chief judge of the *yasa*, Temür would have been obliged to uphold the Chinggisid laws that Chaghatay, who had been designated the official custodian of the *yasa* by his father, had enforced with legendary strictness, as well as to continue to maintain the system of *yarghu* courts of investigation through which the *yasa* was administered and with which the Barlas appear to have continued to be associated.[51]

This framework for understanding the role of Qarachar Noyon and the Barlas tribe in the Ulus Chaghatay, which sheds new light on Timurid origins, helps to explain why Temür and his successors would

[48] For a discussion of the meaning of the term Chaghatay, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, "The Development and Meaning of Chaghatay Identity," in *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change*, ed. Jo-Ann Gross (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 27–45. Although, based on the argument I am making here, the designation Chaghatay would originally have been more narrowly defined.

[49] See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 96, 101–2, 109. In the opinion of Woods, Temür attempted to revive not just the house of Chaghatay, but the house of Chinggis Khan as it had existed at the time of his death in 1227.

[50] See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 102. For marriage relations between the family of the khan and members of his *keshik*, see Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 71; and Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 149. For this Mongolian title, which is rendered *kürgän* in Persian, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:475–77.

[51] See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 101. For evidence of the involvement of members of the Barlas in *yarghu* proceedings in the mid fourteenth century, see Mirza Haydar Dughlat [Muḥammad Haidar Dughlat], *Tarikh-i Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*, ed. and trans. W. M. Thackston, 2 vols. ([Cambridge, MA]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), 2:29–30. For Chaghatay as "the guardian and expositor" of Mongol law, see Morgan, "'Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān'," 171. According to the historian Khvāndamīr, the strictness with which Chaghatay enforced the *yasa* exceeded "Islamic law and reason," and by way of illustration he cites the imposition of the death penalty for expectorating into running water. See Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 3:77.

have remained so loyal to the *yasa* and its further elaboration in the form of the Timurid *törä*. By the same token, it makes abundantly clear that it would be virtually impossible to eliminate the *törä* from Timurid political culture without undermining its raison d'être. It is for these reasons that it would be so difficult to effect a transformation of the Chinggisid-inspired polity established by Temür, and that the Timurid transition to a centralized bureaucratic state on the Perso-Islamic model would remain elusive.

Tensions between Islamic Law and the Timurid Törä

There were many aspects of the *törä* that conflicted with and even contradicted Islamic practices. Chief among these was the *yarghu* court, the court of investigation or military tribunal through which the *törä* was enforced.[52] The *yarghu* violated the fundamental norms of Islamic judicial procedure in that the accused was presumed guilty rather than innocent, and testimony was not based on the use of impartial, certified witnesses. As an ad hoc court of investigation, the *yarghu* resembled a kangaroo court more than it did a court of law, and Islamic jurists disapproved of the indiscriminate use of torture, wholesale confiscation of property, and summary execution that marked its proceedings. Another important area in which Turko-Mongolian customary law conflicted with the Sharīʿa concerned dietary practices. Since the *yasa* prohibited the differentiation between ritual purity and impurity as well the ritual slaughter of animals by shedding their blood, it contradicted Islamic prescriptions regarding the consumption of certain kinds of foods and the manner in which animals were killed for food.[53]

The tensions that existed between Turko-Mongolian custom and Islamic law during Temür's time can be traced back at least to the period of Mongol rule in Iran and Central Asia.[54] In fact, the problematic relationship of the *yasa* to the Sharīʿa was, in the opinion of Beatrice

[52] For the *yarghu* under Temür, see Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 101; and Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 171–72. For its survival into the late Timurid period, see chap. 3, p. 95 below.

[53] See for example Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:77 (where he states that during the time of Chaghatay Khan, Muslims were prohibited from slaughtering sheep and other animals in the ritual Islamic manner).

[54] See Jean Aubin, "Le *quriltai* de Sultân-Maydân (1336)," *Journal asiatique* 279, nos. 1–2 (1991): 175–97.

Manz, one of the great "open questions" that were debated throughout Mongol and post-Mongol history.[55] Since the two socio-religious systems were essentially incompatible, many aspects of the Chinggisid *yasa*, in its Timurid elaboration, simply continued to coexist alongside the Islamic customs that ruling members of the dynasty espoused in order to cater to their sedentary Muslim subjects.

Muslim jurists and members of the religious intelligentsia were, however, unanimous in calling for the abrogation of the *törä* and its complete substitution by Islamic law. Without differenting between the *törä* and the *yasa*, the Timurid historian Khvāndamīr referred to them as "the evil *yasa*" (*yasa-*[*yi*] *shūm*) and "the despicable *törä*" (*törä-i mazmūm*),[56] and Faẓlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, a leading Sunni theologian of the late fifteenth century, complained that, "The limpid water of the commandments of Islam [had] become sullied by the turbidity of the Chinggisid *yasa*."[57] Temür's son and eventual successor, Shāhrukh (d. 850/1447), supposedly abrogated the *törä* and abolished the *yarghu* tribunal in favour of the Sharīʿa. One of his religious advisers, the Hanafite jurist Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyinī, even provided a date for the event in a book he wrote for him on the principles of Islamic governance:

> His Majesty's correct thinking on the subject of giving currency to the Sharīʿa and reviving the customs of the Sunna has progressed so far at this time that, in Dhū al-Qaʿda 813 (i.e., February–March 1411), he abolished the *yarghu* court of investigation and the customs of the *törä* which had been observed by Turko-Mongolian rulers since ancient times.[58]

Assuming the title *pādshāh-i Islām*, and asserting the claim to be caliphal leader of the entire Muslim world, Shāhrukh sought to establish Islamic doctrinal uniformity through the construction and endowment of a

[55] Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Mongol History Rewritten and Relived," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 89–90 (n.d.): 134, 141ff.

[56] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:77.

[57] See Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, ed. John E. Woods; abridged trans. Vladimir Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490 (Turkmenica, 12)*, rev. ed. John E. Woods (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1992), 355. Compare [Niẓām al-Dīn] ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī: Gūshahāʾī az tārīkh-i farhangī va ijtimāʿī-i Khurāsān dar ʿaṣr-i Tīmūrīyān*, ed. Najīb Māyil Haravī (Tehran, 1371/1992–93), 242.

[58] Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, MS, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 112, fol. 2a. For al-Qāyinī and his work, see chap. 4, pp. 107–10. The event is also referred to in a letter Shāhrukh sent to the Ming emperor, inviting him to accept Islam—see ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī, ed., *Asnād va mukātabāt-i tārikhī-i Īrān: Az Tīmūr tā Shāh Ismāʿīl* (Tehran, 2536/1977), 134.

school of law (*madrasa*) in the capital city, which would ensure the dominant position of the Hanafite and Shafi'ite juridical interpretations.[59] Shāhrukh's Islamicizing policies, which may have been modelled on those instituted by the Kartid rulers of Herat during the previous century, were motivated in large part by the growth of heterodox socio-religious movements, such as the cabalistically inspired Ḥurūfiyya, that posed a serious threat to the political stability of the Timurid state at this early stage of its consolidation.[60] Ibn 'Arabshāh, however, expressed scepticism about Shāhrukh's abolition of the *törä*:

> It is said that Shāhrukh declared the *törä* and the Chinggisid regulations (*al-qawā'id al-Chingīzkhāniyya*) null and void, and that he ordered that [his followers] should be governed according to the provisions of the Islamic Sharī'a.[61] But I do not believe this to be true, because for them [the *törä*] is like the Pure Faith [of Islam] and the most genuine of creeds, and if [Shāhrukh] were to assemble [all] his march commanders (*murāziba*) and his high priests (*muwābidha*)[62] in his fortress, shut the gates, and, looking down upon them from on high, propose anything of the sort, they would all rush for the gates like donkeys.[63]

While Ibn 'Arabshāh's sarcastic overstatement needs to be tempered in the light of Shāhrukh's Islamicizing policies, it points not only to the perception on the part of the Muslim religious establishment of the cultural importance of the *törä* for the military elite on whom Shāhrukh was dependent for the maintenance of his rule, but also to the fact that,

[59] On Shāhrukh's *madrasa* and its curriculum, see Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 211ff. For other Islamicizing policies of Shāhrukh, see Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 120–21; V. V. Bartol'd, "O pogrebenii Timura," in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 446–50; and Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 115–16.

[60] See Aubin, "Le khanat de Čaġatai," 21–25; and Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 210–11.

[61] An allusion to the above-mentioned abolition of the *törä* and *yarghu* in 813/1411.

[62] In using the terms *murāziba* and *muwābidha* (the Arabic plurals of the Persian terms *marzbān* and *maubadh* < *mobadh*), Ibn 'Arabshāh is referring disparagingly to Shāhrukh's military and religious elite as being merely frontier commanders and Zoroastrian, i.e., non-Muslim priests. In the case of the latter he may have had in mind the shamanistic Sufis who were known to have surrounded Temür, but it is also possible that he was using the term contemptuously to refer to the kinds of Muslim clerics who would have agreed to serve in Shāhrukh's entourage.

[63] Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr*, 456; and Sanders, *Tamerlane*, 299.

despite the wishful thinking of Muslim theologians writing for Shāhrukh, the *törä* was far from being abrogated in the Timurid realm.[64]

But the sources also provide evidence of accommodations that were made over time, not just of Turko-Mongolian custom to prevailing Islamic law, but also of Islamic law to customs to which the Turko-Mongolian elites who dominated Iran and Central Asia were particularly attached. The consumption of horsemeat, which was widespread among all Altaic peoples, was regarded as problematic from the Islamic viewpoint, but it was accommodated by Muslim jurists to Islamic categories of permissibility.[65] The drinking of alcoholic beverages was another sensitive issue, but since fermented mare's milk (*qimiz*), had an important ritual function in Turko-Mongolian ceremonial, its consumption was justified by Central Asian jurists.[66] The Timurids, however, drank wine, an indication of the higher degree of their acculturation to Iranian sedentary customs, and many of them were addicted to it. Since it was impossible for Muslim jurists to finesse its acceptance, the

[64] According to 'Alī Turka Iṣfahānī, a prominent religious scholar of Shāhrukh's time, "Absolutely everyone with a legal case has it heard in accordance with the Sharī'a, and thanks to the felicity of the favour of this Faith-promoting *pādshāh* (i.e., Shāhrukh), not a trace has remained anywhere of the *yarghu* tribunal which (God preserve us!) had for a long time exercised its tyranny over the minds of rulers and polluted the lands of Islam, and no creature has the power [to conduct] this type of interrogation except in secret." See Ṣā'in al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad Turka Iṣfahānī, *Chahārdah risāla-i fārsī*, ed. Sayyid 'Alī Mūsavī Bihbahānī and Sayyid Ibrāhīm Dībājī (Tehran, 1351/1972), 171.

[65] It had been declared forbidden (*ḥarām*) or at the very least reprehensible (*makrūh*) by the Muslim jurist Abū Ḥanīfa, but licit (*ḥalāl*) by al-Shāfi'ī, and later jurists regarded it as indifferent (*mubāḥ*) from the standpoint of Islamic legality—see Faẓlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā: Tārīkh-i pādshāhī-i Muḥammad Shibānī*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda (Tehran, 1341/1962), 178–79; and Faẓlallākh ibn Rūzbikhān Iṣfakhānī [Faẓlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī], *Mikhmān-nāme-ii Bukhārā (Zapiski bukharskogo gostia)*, fac. ed. and trans. R. P. Dzhalilova (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 108. For the scale of permissibility in Islamic law, see Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 510–11. A number of treatises were written during the Timurid period that justified the consumption of normally prohibited foods. See, for example, Shaikh al-Islām al-Haravī al-Samarqandī, *Kitāb al-ṣaidiyya* (The book of game), MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 3704, fol. 41a. For a description of this work, see A. A. Semenov et al., *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, 11 vols. (Tashkent: Fan, 1952–87), 9:257.

[66] It had been declared forbidden (*ḥarām*) by Abū Ḥanīfa, but allowed (*mubāḥ*) by Marghīnānī in his *Fatāwā*, as well as by the Shafi'ite jurist Khunjī—see Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 178–79; and [Khunjī], *Mikhmān-nāme*, trans. Dzhalilova, 106–7. For a description of the libation of *qimiz*, see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 100b; Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 154–55. For its use in Uzbek court ceremonial in the seventeenth century, see Bartol'd, "Tseremonial," 397. In Central Asian nomadic cultures, drinking was considered to be the test of a man. See Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 4:132 (for the account of how the Uzbek khan Abū al-Khair tested Sulṭān-Ḥusain by getting him drunk).

Timurids periodically made public displays of their renunciation of drink and issued edicts prohibiting the consumption of wine and other un-Islamic practices, such as the shaving of beards.[67]

The Military Ethos

The most pervasive aspect of Timurid culture that militated against the transition to a centralized sedentary state was its military ethos. Based on a military elite with roots in an imperial guard corps, and buttressed by nomadic tribal forces, the early Timurid polity was characterized by the use of Turko-Mongolian titles, the Chinggisid ranking of military offices, and adherence to Mongolian battle formations. It emphasized equestrian skills, archery, hunting, campaigning, and an itinerant lifestyle based on the movement between wintering and summering places, favourite hunting grounds, and various camp or garden residences.[68]

By the same token, the ideology of the Turko-Mongolian nomads dictated contempt for sedentary society and its chief occupation—agricultural activity. This attitude was consciously cultivated, despite the symbiotic relationship that had historically existed between the pastoral nomadic and sedentary sectors in the economy of Central Asia (Transoxiana) and eastern Iran (Khorasan).[69] It expressed itself primarily in various exploitative practices whereby the sedentary population was literally viewed as "fair game," either as the object of raiding and plunder or of extortionate taxation policies. It may be posited that the underlying goal of the Timurid *törä*, like the regulations of the Chinggisid *yasa* before it, was the maintenance of a warrior culture in order to counteract the assimilative pull of Iranian civilization that threatened to draw the Turkic nomadic elite and the Chaghatay tribesmen into

[67] See, for example, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain va majmaʿ-i baḥrain*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, vol. 2 in 3 pts. (Lahore, 1365–68/1946–49), vol. 2, pt. 2, 739–41; and Maria E. Subtelny, "A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics: Kashifi's *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003): 604.

[68] For the significance of the itinerant style of rule under the Ilkhanids, see Charles Melville, "The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16," *Iran* 28 (1990): 64.

[69] See Fredrik Barth, "A General Perspective on Nomad-Sedentary Relations in the Middle East," in *Process and Form in Social Life: Selected Essays of Fredrik Barth*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 188–92; A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, trans. Julia Crookenden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 198–99; and Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Symbiosis of Turk and Tajik," in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, ed. Beatrice F. Manz (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994), 48–49.

its sedentary snare, transforming them from warriors into townsmen or, even worse, farmers. The dangers of acculturation and assimilation to the nomad had been succinctly expressed in a Turkic proverb, recorded by the eleventh-century dialectologist Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, that warned, "Just as the effectiveness of a warrior is diminished when his sword begins to rust, so too does the flesh of a Turk begin to rot when he assumes the lifestyle of an Iranian."[70]

One of the most outstanding expressions of the warrior culture in the Timurid context was the custom of political vagabondage. The sociopolitical phenomenon of *qazaqliq* (Persianized form, *qazāqī*) has been little studied, but it would appear to be important for an understanding of the evolution of the Timurid state.[71] The term *qazaq* has been rendered variously as freebooter, brigand, vagabond, guerrilla warrior, and cossack, and *qazaqliq* referred to the period of "brigandage" that such an individual spent, usually as a young man, roaming about in some remote region on the fringes of the sedentary urban oases, usually after fleeing from a difficult social or political situation.[72] Although the phenomenon must have existed in early steppe culture in order to accommodate renegades or social outcasts, the term *qazaq* does not appear to have gained currency in the Turko-Mongolian sphere before the fourteenth century.[73]

[70] Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff, in collaboration with James Kelly, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University], 1982–85), 2:103.

[71] In the Persian sources, this Turkic term often appears in such phrases as *ayyām-i qazāqī* or *zamān-i qazāqī*, i.e., the period of *qazaqliq*.

[72] For the term, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 3:462–68; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Ḳazaḳ" (by W. Barthold and G. Hazai), 848; Annemarie von Gabain, "Kasakentum, eine soziologisch-philologische Studie," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11, nos. 1–3 (1960): 162; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 272–77. In her translation of the *Babur-nāma*, Annette Beveridge translated *qazaqliq(lar)* as "guerilla expeditions" or "guerilla times"—see Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 21 (= fol. 11a). Thus also Wheeler Thackston—see Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza, *Baburnama*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr., 3 pts. (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1993), 1:21. I have adopted Stephen Dale's rendering of the term as "political vagabondage"—see Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, 98.

[73] See von Gabain, "Kasakentum," 162, although she believes that the spirit (Geist) of *qazaqliq* already existed in earlier periods. The word is not attested in Old Turkic and its etymology is unclear (perhaps from *qaz-*, to wander, flee). I am indebted to discussions with Peter Golden regarding the etymology and history of this term.

During the Timurid period, *qazaqliq* referred specifically to the period when a pretender to the throne and his supporters lived the rough life of brigandage and raiding before coming to political power.[74] Besides Temür himself, other Timurids who are identified by the contemporary sources as having been *qazaq*s in the period before coming to political power include Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur.[75]

It was during the period of his *qazaqliq* that a political contender assembled a cohort of loyal followers, who were referred to by such terms as *nökär* (companion), *yigit* (brave), and *bahadur* (hero).[76] The creation of a warband was one of the characteristic features of nomadic Turko-Mongolian societies, and the comrade culture it fostered has been compared by Omeljan Pritsak and others to the *comitatus* of the early Germanic tribes.[77] Followers rallied around an aspiring leader on the basis of free association, but they traditionally belonged to leading families, and members of the hereditary *keshik* corps must have played a part in the support group of a leader like Temür. The most important qualifications were personal ability and, above all, loyalty to the leader.[78]

[74] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 272; and Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, 98–99 (who notes that Babur often used the term *qazaqliq* as a synonym for *fatrat* to denote his "interregnum").

[75] Temür spent his period of *qazaqliq* at Mākhān near Marv; Sulṭān-Ḥusain spent his in the same region, as well as in Khorazm and the Qipchaq steppe; and Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd spent his in the Qipchaq steppe. Babur frequently mentions his *qazaqliq* days in the *Babur-nāma*. See Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 20a; and Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, 98–99. Another famous *qazaq* of the time was the Uzbek khan Muḥammad Shibanī, for whom see von Gabain, "Kasakentum," 162; and Kazuyuki Kubo, ed., "*Shaybānī-nāma* by Mullā Binā'ī, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī," in *A Synthetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period* (Kyoto, 1997), 5.

[76] For the Mongolian term *nökär*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:521; and Allsen, "Guard and Government," 513–14. It is interesting to note the gradual "domestication" of the original meaning of the term, which in Persian comes to mean a household servant or page. For *yigit*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 4:185; Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 272–77; and Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 39a (for the telling phrase, *qazaq yigitlar*). For the Turkic term *bahadur*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:366, s.v. *bahādur*.

[77] See Pritsak, "Distinctive Features," 750, 768, 776, who refers to it as a "Männerbund"; also C. I. Beckwith, "Aspects of the Early History of the Central Asian Guard Corps in Islam," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 35. For the "cossack" freebooters and their evolution into a royal warband in the Aq Qoyunlu confederation, see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 10, 13–14.

[78] On this point, see Allsen, "Guard and Government," 513–14. 'Alīshīr Navā'ī devoted a chapter in his *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* to *nökär*s and their obligation to remain loyal—see Alisher Navoi, *Vozliublennyi serdets*, ed. A. N. Kononov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1948), chap. 36, 52–55; and Alisher Navoi, *Sochineniia*, 10 vols. (Tashkent: Fan, 1968–70), 10:38 ("Vozliublennyi serdets").

As proof of their loyalty, a leader's followers pledged their lives to him, a notion sometimes referred to as *jānsipārī* (Turkic form *jānsipārliq*), and they protected him at crucial times in battle.[79] The size of the support group was constantly in flux, rising and falling with the leader's political fortunes, but it seems that size was not a determining factor for success.[80] In return for their loyalty, the leader was obliged to reward his followers in various tangible ways, primarily through the distribution of booty, gifts, and appointments to various military ranks and positions. This was also the period during which the leader forged alliances with local rulers, tribal leaders, merchant groups, and trading partnerships, and these alliances were often strengthened by marriage ties.[81] It may be assumed that Turko-Mongolian customary law was operative during the period of *qazaqliq* and it is not unlikely that some of the characteristic features of the Timurid *törä* were even formulated at such times.[82]

Although the official attitude of Timurid historiography toward the period of political vagabondage appears to have been rather ambivalent,

[79] For the term, which appears to date back to the Sasanian period, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "The *Vaqfiya* of Mīr 'Alī Šīr Navā'ī as Apologia," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 15 (1991), 2:261; Kubo, "*Shaybānī-nāma*," 5; and Mohsen Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 76–78. For this important feature of the comrade culture in connection with Temür and Shāhrukh, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 259–60; and Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 172. On one occasion, some of the followers of the later Timurid Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who were worried that he might be wounded, grabbed the reins of his horse and pulled him off the battlefield—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:117.

[80] In his youth, Temür's supporters numbered between four and forty; in 1362 he did not have more than sixty; and in 1366 he still had only 243. See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 272. As for Sulṭān-Ḥusain, the number of his followers in his various periods of *qazaqliq* fluctuated, from five to sixty to twenty-five to twenty-two to 300 and then to over 1,000. See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:116–19.

[81] For Temür's marriage alliances during his period of *qazaqliq*, see Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 46, 57; for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's, see chap. 2, p. 54.

[82] Annemarie von Gabain, however, assumes that because *qazaqliq* was an individualistic aspect of an otherwise collective society, the *törä* did not apply to it—see von Gabain, "Kasakentum," 162. I would argue that it was precisely during the period of political vagabondage that the *törä* had to be operative, because the *qazaq* assembled his collective on the basis of a common code of behaviour. The *törä* may be compared in this respect to the chivalric code that characterized the ancient Iranian phenomenon of *'ayyārī* or *javānmardī*. For the *'ayyār* phenomenon in pre-Mongol Iran and Central Asia, see Jürgen Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler: Ostiran und Transoxanien in vormongolischer Zeit* (Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1996), 129–30; for the Timurid period, see Arley Loewen, "Proper Conduct (*Adab*) Is Everything: The *Futuwwat-nāmah-i Sulṭānī* of Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003): 543–48.

probably because the physical hardships and rough living it entailed contrasted so sharply with the august and sophisticated image that the Persian historians wanted to project of their royal patrons, the period of *qazaqliq* played a legitimate and important role in the process of state formation.[83] After coming to power, the leader appointed his loyal supporters to positions in the administration of the new state, and those who did not recognize their old followers in this way were criticized for negligence of duty.[84] In a telling introductory passage in his account of the political career of the Uzbek ruler Muḥammad Shibanī Khan, the Persian poet and historian Binā'ī enumerated in the first place those *amīr*s, or military commanders, who had been the khan's loyal supporters during his *qazaqliq* days, who had risked their lives for him, and who made possible his coming to power, as forming the nucleus of his administration.[85]

The institution of *qazaqliq* continued to inform the patrimonial ethic and highly personal nature of politics in the polity established by Temür and his successors. It supplemented and reinforced the old framework of the *keshik* guard corps, whose members performed personal service to the ruler and who at the same time served as administrators of his household of which the "state" was but an extension. A discussion of the model of the patrimonial household and its applicability to the Timurid situation is in order at this point, as it underscores how difficult it would be for the Timurids to disassociate themselves from it and to make the transition to a bureaucratic centralized state.

[83] *Qazaqliq* may be regarded as yet another "submerged" institution, like the *keshik*, as it is encountered infrequently in the Persian sources. The poet-historian Binā'ī referred to Muḥammad Shibanī Khan's period of *qazaqliq* as "black days" (*ayyām-i qara*)—see Kubo, "*Shaybānī-nāma*," 6. For the association of the colour black with misfortune, shame, and poverty in Turkic languages, see Peter B. Golden, "The *Čermii Klobouci*," in *Symbolae Turcologicae: Studies in Honour of Lars Johanson on His Sixtieth Birthday, 8 March 1996*, ed. Árpád Berta, Bernt Brendemoen, and Claus Schönig (Uppsala: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1996), 105.

[84] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 261; and Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 52–53. When Sulṭān-Ḥusain did not treat Jahāngīr Barlas, his loyal companion from his period of political vagabondage, with favour when he came to power, he was faulted by members of his entourage who convinced him to reinstate him to his rightful position. See Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī, *Badāʿ al-vakāʿ* [*Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ*], ed. A. N. Boldyrev, 2 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1961), 1:544ff.

[85] See Kubo, "*Shaybānī-nāma*," 5. Babur frequently mentions the military commanders who had supported him during his *qazaqliq* days—see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 144a.

The Patrimonial Household State

Like other post-Mongol states that adopted Chinggisid political culture, Temür's was organized along patrimonial lines, as the central feature of government was the imperial family or patrimonial household, which was based on notions of personal service to its ruling head and permanent attendance on his person.[86] One might well ask how the notion of patrimonialism, which represents a traditional form of authority, can coexist with charismatic authority which essentially rejects any formal or limiting structures. According to the Weberian paradigm, the transition from one to the other is fluid and takes place once charismatic domination loses its personal foundation and the demands of governing have to be met. Charisma continues to play a role in this transition, but paradoxically, only in legitimating what has now become "traditional."[87]

The *keshik*, or imperial guard corps, played an important role in the patrimonial household regime. It was the chief source of the ruler's most trusted political advisers and government officials once he came to power, and it constituted the framework of government administration. An enduring Chinggisid institutional legacy, it formed the nucleus of all post-Mongol governments in Iran and Central Asia, and it appears to have constituted the core of Temür's emerging polity as well.[88] As the repository of elite privilege supported by Chinggisid custom, it would be difficult to dislodge, and it hindered the process of transforming

[86] Weber, *Economy and Society* 1:231–32, 2:1006ff. The term "state" is used here very loosely and not in accordance with accepted usage in modern political science. For the application of the Weberian concept of patrimonialism to the Islamic world, see Stephen P. Blake, "The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 1 (1979): 77–94; Halil Inalcik, "Comments on 'Sultanism': Max Weber's Typification of the Ottoman Polity," *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992): 63; and Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), 172ff. (although Turner was mainly concerned with Islam in relation to the rise of the modern world). My discussion of the Mongol empire as a patrimonial regime is largely informed by Thomas Allsen's "Guard and Government," 516; *Mongol Imperialism*, 98; and *Commodity and Exchange*, 52–54.

[87] See Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1020–22, 2:1122–23; and Tucker, "Theory of Charismatic Leadership," 753.

[88] See Hsiao, "Lien Hsi-hsien," 482; Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 135, 155; and Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 95. In her *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, Beatrice Manz does not refer to the *keshik* in connection with Temür; nor does Shiro Ando in connection with Shāhrukh in his *Timuridische Emire*. The above-mentioned remarks of Charles Melville regarding the "submerged" nature of the *keshik* should, however, be borne in mind.

a polity fuelled by a booty economy and based on the prevalence of patrimonial household relations into a centralized Islamic state on the Persian model, based on rational bureaucratization and administrative professionalization.

Many Timurid government appointments reflected the emphasis on personal service and attendance on the ruler and his household. Although appearing to refer to menial domestic tasks, titles such as the Taster (*bökävül*), the Cup-bearer (*suchi*), the Cook (*bavurchi*), the Quiver-bearer (*qorchi*), the Falconer (*qushchi*), the Cheetah-keeper (*barschi*), and the Equerry (*akhtachi*), actually denoted important military-administrative functions while at the same time signifying an individual's trustworthiness, physical proximity to the ruler, and standing in the royal household.[89] For a depiction of Temür's household, including members of his guard corps and the household appointments *qorchi*, *qushchi*, *barschi*, and *akhtachi*, in a manuscript of the *Ẓafar-nāma* (Book of conquests) by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, see figure 1.[90] Most of these household posts originated under Chinggis Khan and are attested in homologous Chinggisid states.[91] Of particular significance for our understanding of Timurid government is the title *ichki* (the Insider) and its Persian equivalent *muqarrab* (intimate, literally, "the one brought near") which were conferred on privileged individuals who enjoyed unrestricted access to the ruler and who thereby gained membership in his guard/household establishment.[92] Their standing, which derived from their close personal

[89] For the status of such household appointments, see Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1025–26. For these particular posts, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:301, s.v. *bökävül*; 3:285, s.v. *sūčī*; 1:202, s.v. *bāvurchī* (<Mongolian *ba'ur'či*); 1:429, s.v. *qōrčī*; 3:548, s.v. *qūščī*; 2:238, s.v. *bārsčī*; 1:117, s.v. *aḫtāčī*. See also Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 172; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 245–50.

[90] Note that the *amīrs* are genuflecting, which is the traditional gesture of respect in the Timurid household. See, for example, Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 188b (utilizing the Turkic verb, *yükünmek*); and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 301.

[91] See Allsen, "Guard and Government," 509–10, 514; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 53; and Grupper, "Barulas Family Narrative," 61 n. 113. Both Manz and Ando refer to these as "court offices," which to my mind fails to capture the essential element of personal service involved. For the existence of some of these household appointments in the Karakhanid state in the eleventh century, see Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*. trans. Robert Dankoff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 124; for the Aq Qoyunlu state, see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 14.

[92] For the term *ichki*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:174–75; Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 250–52; and Melville, "*Kešhig* in Iran," 140. Support for my contention that *ichki* and *muqarrab* were equivalent is their indiscriminate application to the famous ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī—see Maria Eva Subtelny, "ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī: *Bakhshī* and *Beg*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–80), 2:805–6; and chap. 3, p. 84 below. For references to the *ichkiyān* and *muqarrabān*, see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:181.

relationship to the ruler, was often strengthened by ties of marriage or foster-brotherhood (*kökältashī*).[93] The administration thus consisted of a loosely organized, albeit hierarchically ordered group of men who were under the control of the head of the household and bound to him through ties of personal loyalty and service that often dated back to the period of his *qazaqliq*.

Personal service and loyalty to the head of the household were, in turn, reciprocated by the granting of favours and gifts of cash, clothing, and food, generally without any formal bureaucratic accountability.[94] As Thomas Allsen has demonstrated, Mongolian imperial politics would have been impossible without what he calls the "conspicuous redistribution" of such commodities as silk brocade, which were not luxuries but actually a form of political currency necessary for the maintenance of a ruler's following and the legitimation of his rule.[95] This same principle applied to the Timurid household in which horses, trays of cash (*sachiq*), silk fabrics, and robes of honour (*charqab*) were granted on a grand scale both to and by members of the household.[96] Epitomized by the Turko-Mongolian custom of *toquz*, which involved offering gifts in nines, the ritual of gifting was highly developed in the Timurid patrimonial establishment.[97]

[93] For the term *kökältash*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:481–82, s.v. *kökältāš*.

[94] For the household as the locus of consumption and commodity exchange, see Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1014, 2:1118; and Blake, "Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire," 94.

[95] A point strongly argued by Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 53–57, 104.

[96] For *sachiq*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 3:216, s.v. *sāčiq*. For a depiction of the ritual at a Timurid assembly, see fig. 1. For the *charqab*, see chap. 3, p. 85 below.

[97] For *toquz* (>*dokuz*, lit., nine), see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:624–29, s.v. *tōqūz*. For a description of this practice, see Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjā'ib al-maqdūr*, 135; Sanders, *Tamerlane*, 74; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 522 (where he defines it as "the manner in which Turks present gifts"). For the significance of the number nine in Altaic cultures, see Annemarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers* (New York: Oxford Paperbacks, Oxford University Press, 1994), 170–71.

Corporate Sovereignty and Its Consequences

The support of the members of the patrimonial household and the legitimacy of its charismatic leader-turned-head of household could not be assured exclusively through the distribution of gifts and other forms of conspicuous consumption, however important their role in maintaining "loyalty and legitimacy."[98] While the discipline inherent in the *törä*, the shared warrior experience of *qazaqliq*, and membership in the household guard corps were important factors contributing to the stability of the ruler's household, the loyalty of military commanders and other supporters could not be sustained in the long run without substantial monetary incentives. "There is no kingship without men, and no men without money," was a maxim frequently cited by Timurid historians and authors of books of advice on governance.[99] Once the booty economy reached its limits, however, such incentives had to be funded by more regular sources of revenue that were not as readily available as plunder had been.

Exacerbating the situation was the Turko-Mongolian concept of corporate sovereignty, according to which territory was held collectively by the patriarchal, agnatic clan and all lineal male descendants shared the right to claim political sovereignty over it.[100] After the death of Temür, and in fact after the death of every one of his political successors, this concept reasserted itself, creating a free-for-all situation where all eligible members of the Timurid charismatic clan staked a claim to rule in the steadily shrinking territory under Timurid control in Iran and Central Asia. In this highly competitive political climate, which often degenerated into internecine warfare, loyalties were in a constant state of flux, as dynastic family members, members of the military elite, and

[98] To cite Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 104.

[99] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:378; and Ḥusain [b. ʿAlī] Vāʿiẓ [Kāshifī], *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 22nd lithog. ed. (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1377/1957), 217.

[100] For the concept of corporate sovereignty among Turko-Mongolian peoples, see Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, vol. 1, *Introduction—Tribal Law* (London, 1920; repr. ed., New York: AMS, 1971), 307; Martin B. Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory in the Sixteenth Century," in *Trudy dvadtsat' piatogo Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov, Moskva 1960*, vol. 3, *Zasedaniia sektsii X, XI, XIII* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963), 210; Lawrence Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), 367; H. R. Roemer, "Tīmūr in Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 92; and Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 19–20.

rank-and-file Chaghatay warriors shifted their support from one rival claimant to another.

The main instrument in the hands of Timurid princes who sought to attract supporters and maintain the loyalty of their military elite on whom they were dependent was no longer the promise of booty, as it had been in Temür's time, but more regular financial incentives, especially various types of revenue assignments and tax immunities, such as the *soyurghal*.[101] A conditional type of land-grant, the *soyurghal* was characterized by exemption from taxation and administrative interference, and it appears to have attained its greatest expansion during the Timurid period.[102] Although Temür had granted relatively few *soyurghals*, his successors, Shāhrukh, Abū al-Qāsim Babur, and Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, distributed them freely, and not just to Timurid family members and Chaghatay *amīr*s whose support they needed to attract and maintain.[103] Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara was known to have granted numerous "*soyurghal*s and benefices," even to members of the religious and literary intelligentsia.[104] The same trend manifested itself in the realm of the Timurids' Turkmen neighbours, the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu rulers.[105] These newly granted *soyurghal*s added to the existing fund of

[101] See Maria Eva Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 4 (1988): 480–88. For the role of the landed benefice in Weber's concept of the patrimonial household state, see Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1031–32.

[102] For the *soyurghal*, see I. P. Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala," *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* 6 (1949): 244–45; I. P. Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie i agrarnye otnosheniia v Irane XIII–XIV vekov* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1960), 272–74; A. Belenitskii, "K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladeniia v Srednei Azii i Irane v timuridskuiu ėpokhu (XIV–XV vv.) (Obrazovanie instituta 'suiurgal')," *Istorik-marksist*, 1941, kn. 4:57–58; Bert Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 504–12; Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases," 480–84; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Economy, vi: In the Timurid Period" (by Maria E. Subtelny), 133.

[103] See Manz, "Administration," 197, 203–4; I. P. Petrushevskii, *Ocherki po istorii feodal'nykh otnoshenii v Azerbaidzhane i Armenii v XVI–nachale XIX vv.* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1949), 149–50; Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala," 230; Belenitskii, "K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladeniia," 50, 55; and J. Deny, "Un *soyurgal* du Timouride Šāhruḫ en écriture ouigoure," *Journal asiatique* 245, no. 3 (1957): 253–66.

[104] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:111.

[105] Belenitskii, "K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladeniia," 51; I. P. Petrushevskii, "Vnutrenniaia politika Akhmeda Ak-Koiunlu," in *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana*, vyp. 1 (Baku: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1949), 145–46; V. Minorsky, "The Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms (Turkmenica, 11)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17, no. 3 (1955): 461; and Jean Aubin, "Un soyurghal Qara-Qoyunlu

inherited *soyurghals* that had accumulated since the beginning of the century, and whose holders—mainly members of the Turkic military elite and their descendants—tended to be confirmed in their rights by successive Timurid rulers.[106]

Although *soyurghals* and other tax immunities were a boon to their beneficiaries and represented important sources of funding for the patronage of cultural activities during the Timurid period, the unbridled granting of such incentives resulted in the diversion of tax revenues from the central treasury, thereby creating chronic shortages of cash that jeopardized the functioning of government and the legitimacy of the ruler.[107] For this reason, Timurid and Turkmen rulers periodically tried to effect a centralization of their fiscal administrations by targeting for reform the system of landholding and taxation. Because the closely related areas of landholding and taxation had, since the period of Mongol rule in Iran, been identified with the extortionate taxation practices of the Turko-Mongolian military elite, such reform efforts were usually framed in terms of a comprehensive "return to Islam" policy that aimed at rectifying deviations from Islamic law.[108] But their centralizing policies created a dilemma for Timurid rulers, since any reform of the system of landholding and revenue assignment necessarily entailed the curtailment of the privileges of the Turkic elite on whom they were militarily dependent and whom they could scarcely afford to alienate politically. The fiscally decentralized system of landholding and revenue assignment was probably the thorniest problem facing Timurid rulers in their attempt to make the transition from a patrimonial household state to a bureaucratically administered regime, and one that would never be satisfactorily resolved.

concernant le bulūk de Bawānāt-Harāt-Marwast (Archives persanes commentées 3)," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1965), 167. The Aq Qoyunlu ruler Rustam (d. 902/1497) was reputed to have distributed more *soyurghals* to the religious intelligentsia than any other Turkmen prince. See Hans Robert Roemer, "Le dernier firman de Rustam Bahādur Aq Qoyunlu?" *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 59 (1960): 282; and Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 156.

[106] For the hereditary nature of the *soyurghal*, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 273; Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala," 241–42.

[107] See Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases," 485–95.

[108] For a similar attempt at reform during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, see chap. 3 below.

The Process of Transition

The process of transition from a nomadic empire based on a booty economy to a state on the sedentary Persian model began already in the first generation, when Temür's son Shāhrukh, who succeeded him in 811/1409, transferred the Timurid capital from Samarqand to Herat, thereby shifting the centre of the empire from Central Asia (Transoxiana) to Iran (Khorasan).[109] Shāhrukh's official proclamation of the abolition of Turko-Mongolian custom in favour of Islamic law has already been mentioned, although the question of the degree to which that proclamation was actually implemented remains moot. The chief loci of transformation were the interrelated areas of bureaucratic administration and agricultural policy. These were the traditional preserve of the indigenous Iranian bureaucratic intelligentsia to whom Timurid rulers turned for assistance in introducing a measure of regularity into the chaotic system of tax collection and fiscal administration. As in other Turko-Mongolian states in West and Central Asia, highly educated "Tajiks" who hailed from old provincial families played a key role in developing the bureaucratic administration of the Timurids and in promoting agrarian values.[110] Under their influence, the Timurids adopted many features of the Perso-Islamic bureaucratic state. They also turned their attention to agricultural development, the traditional source of revenues in all pre-modern Middle Eastern polities. The resultant structure, which represented a hybrid of two essentially antagonistic elements—patrimonialism and bureaucracy—corresponds to what Stephen Blake, in a modification of the patrimonial household model based on his analysis of the Mughal-Timurid empire in India, has referred to as a patrimonial-bureaucratic regime.[111]

Once set in motion, the process of transition created a dialectical relationship between two basic and opposing tendencies—the one

[109] Shāhrukh had been governor of Khorasan since 799/1397—see Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 3:468.

[110] For the tradition of bureaucratic administration in Iranian history, see Ehsan Yarshater, "The Persian Presence in the Islamic World," in *The Persian Presence in the Islamic World*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 54–58; and Maria E. Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin: Aspects de l'histoire culturelle de l'Iran médiéval* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2002), 29–34.

[111] See Weber, *Economy and Society* 2:1111; and Blake, "Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire," 81–82.

centrifugal, represented by the Turko-Mongolian military elite who wanted to preserve the decentralized patrimonial system and values embodied in the *törä*; the other centripetal, represented by the proponents of the Persian bureaucratic tradition who sought to establish a bureaucratic state on the Perso-Islamic model in which the Sharī'a represented the chief ideological basis for centralization.[112] Of the two tendencies, now the one and now the other would gain the advantage. Since the struggle was being waged on sedentary territory and not in the steppe, Turko-Mongolian ideals necessarily blended with Perso-Islamic concepts of legitimation.[113] This resulted, as mentioned already, in the coexistence of many Turko-Mongolian practices alongside Perso-Islamic ones, as Timurid rulers pursued contradictory policies in order to satisfy various constituencies. As a rule, the weaker the ruler the more his hands were tied by the military elite whose members resisted the curtailment of their privileges and the concomitant erosion of their Chaghatay identity.

Nevertheless, in the complex process of transition, members of the Timurid dynasty and their Turko-Mongolian supporters became acculturated by the surrounding Persianate milieu, adopting Persian cultural models and tastes and acting as patrons of Persian literature, painting, architecture, and music. At the same time, to preserve their Turkic cultural heritage, they promoted the creation of a Chaghatay (Eastern Turkish) language and literature that was written in the Arabo-Persian script and heavily dependent on Persian models, and even retained the symbolic use of the Turkic Uighur script.[114] As a result, the Timurids came to be regarded by contemporaries as well as by posterity as the most cultivated dynasty in the medieval eastern Islamic world, and the court of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara epitomized what Marshall Hodgson

[112] For these opposing tendencies, see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 22. For the Perso-Islamic model of the state, see the studies by Ann K. S. Lambton, especially her "*Quis custodiet custodes*? Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government," *Studia Islamica* 5 (1956): 125–48; and her "Islamic Mirrors for Princes," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel medioevo (Roma, 31 marzo–5 aprile 1970)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), 419–42.

[113] On this point see Thomas T. Allsen, "Spiritual Geography and Political Legitimacy in the Eastern Steppe," in *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, ed. Henri J. M. Claessen and Jarich G. Oosten (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 128.

[114] For the importance of Uighur script for the Timurids and the role of the Turkic scribes, or *bakhshis*, see Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Aja'ib al-maqdūr*, 379; Sanders, *Tamerlane*, 321–22; T. Gandjeï, "Note on the Colophon of the *Laṭāfat-nāma* in Uighur Characters from the Kabul Museum," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s., 14 (1964): 161–65; and Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navā'ī," 799–800.

termed "the military patronage state."[115] This "Timurid renaissance," as it was dubbed by an older generation of scholars, but which has since been called into question by the late Jean Aubin and others, should in fact be viewed not just as a cultural phenomenon, that is, an unprecedented surge in artistic and literary activity as a result of princely patronage, but as part of the broader process of political and socioeconomic reorientation.[116] The last members of the dynasty, notably Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd and Sulṭān-Ḥusain, in fact came to be regarded as ideal Perso-Islamic rulers who devoted as much attention to agricultural development as they did to fostering Persianate court culture.

The present study will examine more closely the process of transition and state transformation under the Timurids by focusing on the last effective ruler of the dynasty, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara (873–911/1469–1506). Spanning a period of almost thirty-seven years toward the very end of Timurid dynastic rule in Iran, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign may be regarded as representing the culmination of the process of transition that started earlier in the century under Shāhrukh. It also provides a vivid illustration of the dynamic between the two competing ideological tendencies that characterized the process of transition right from the outset.

To anticipate the outcome, the proponents of centralization would not be strong enough to prevail over the entrenched interests of the Timurid military and household elites on which the Timurid ruler was himself dependent, and the Timurids would ultimately be unsuccessful in effecting the kind of political transformation into a centralized bureaucratic state that accords with the Weberian model of the routinization of charisma. In keeping with other Turko-Mongolian polities in the eastern Islamic world, theirs would be a patrimonial-bureaucratic regime at best. At the same time, the inevitable process

[115] See Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 404ff. See also Maria Eva Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, nos. 1–2 (1983): 123ff.; Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navā'ī's *Dīvān* in Ottoman Orthography," *Central Asiatic Journal* 22, no. 3 (1976): 162–70; and Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 41, 45 (for references to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's entertainments).

[116] Jean Aubin challenged the received view by asking, "Mais, au fait, renaissance de quoi? Et en quoi timouride?" He believed that if there was a tradition to renew, it was that of a "return to Islam." See Jean Aubin, "Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz," *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957): 72–75.

of acculturation and sedentarization meant that not only would the Timurids become patrons of Persian high culture (even the Chaghatay literature they fostered was heavily influenced by Persian models and language), but that they would, in the end, also lose the warrior ethos of their Chaghatay ancestors, just as the Old Turkic proverb predicted. More acculturated rulers like Sulṭān-Ḥusain would even respond to the exigencies of the agrarian economy of their sedentary subjects in highly creative ways that took into account the full range of possibilities afforded by Muslim religious custom and Islamic law.

But acculturation cut both ways. While the Persianization of the Timurids in the areas of lifestyle, cultural tastes, and bureaucratic organization is readily apparent and well documented by modern scholarship, the influence of Turko-Mongolian terminology and institutions on state formation in Iran, particularly those connected with the patrimonial household and the guard corps, may also be discerned, not just under the Timurids but even into the Safavid and Qajar periods. Once the existence of such fundamental institutions as the *keshik* and the *yarghu* in the post-Mongol history of Iran is more widely acknowledged, historians will be in a better position to recognize and assess the influence of related Timuro-Chinggisid traditions on medieval Iranian society.

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CHAPTER TWO

FROM POLITICAL VAGABOND TO POTENTATE: THE CAREER OF SULṬĀN-ḤUSAIN BAYQARA

Lineage, Training, and Patrons

Nothing in particular distinguished Sulṭān-Ḥusain from the many other Timurid *mīrzā*s, or princes, who were in constant competition with each other, a competition that became more ardent the more the Timurid empire was reduced from its former majestic sweep to a rump centred on the large eastern regions of Khorasan and Transoxiana.[1] These young *izgoi*, to borrow an apt term from medieval Russian history, who had been deprived of their patrimony by political rivals, sought to carve out a territorial niche for themselves in the ever-changing political landscape of West and Central Asia. In the process, they often had to undergo a period of political vagabondage, or *qazaqliq* (Persianized form, *qazāqī*), during which, under difficult circumstances and often with only a handful of followers, they honed their military skills in raiding expeditions and forged alliances that would enable them to emerge at a politically propitious moment and make a bid for power.[2] Sulṭān-Ḥusain was no exception, and he would have to endure three separate periods of *qazaqliq*, which altogether lasted over a decade, before he finally established himself as the ruler of Khorasan.[3]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain was born in Herat in Muḥarram 842/June–July 1438, the son of Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Manṣūr b. Bayqara b. ʿUmar-Shaikh b. Amīr Temür. He was thus a fourth generation descendant of Temür

[1] For a comparison between the extent of the empire under Temür in ca. 1405 and at the end of the fifteenth century, see Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), map no. 23. *Mīrzā* is an abbreviation of *amīrzāda*, i.e., the son of an *amīr*, that is, of Temür, whose title had been *amīr-i tümän*. The Timurids retained the title as a kind of dynastic marker.

[2] For *qazaqliq*, see chap. 1, pp. 29–32 above.

[3] For the application of the term to Sulṭān-Ḥusain, see *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 158b (*ayyām-i qazāqī*); and Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf-i madīnat-i Harāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1338–39/1959–60), 2:275 (read *qazāq* for *qatrāq*).

in the line of his eldest son, ʿUmar-Shaikh.[4] Both Khvāndamīr and Daulatshāh point out that he was of noble lineage, being a Timurid on both sides and a member of the Barlas tribe that played such an important role in the history of the Ulus Chaghatay.[5] His mother Fīrūza Begim (d. 874/1469) was the daughter of Amīr Sulṭān-Ḥusain b. Amīr Muḥammad Beg b. Amīr Mūsā of the powerful Taychiyut tribe.[6] She too was a Timurid on both sides, and had a distant Chinggisid connection as well.[7] His paternal grandmother Qutluq-Sulṭān Begim was the daughter of Amīr Iskandar Ilchikday, a sixth generation descendant of Chinggis Khan's, and Bibi Fāṭima, the daughter of the Khuttalanī Amīr Kai Khusrau b. Ḥanẓal Sudun b. Bat Kilkay b. Tümänä Khan, who belonged to a branch of the Barlas tribe.[8]

In addition to his links to both the Timurid and Chinggisid lines, Sulṭān-Ḥusain also claimed descent, in the ninth generation, from the Hanbalite traditionist and Sufi patron saint of Herat, Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), popularly known as Pīr-i Harāt, who had been the object of a Timurid veneration cult from the time of Shāhrukh. With the exception of Khvāndamīr, no other Timurid historian mentions this genealogical connection, including Babur, who was one of

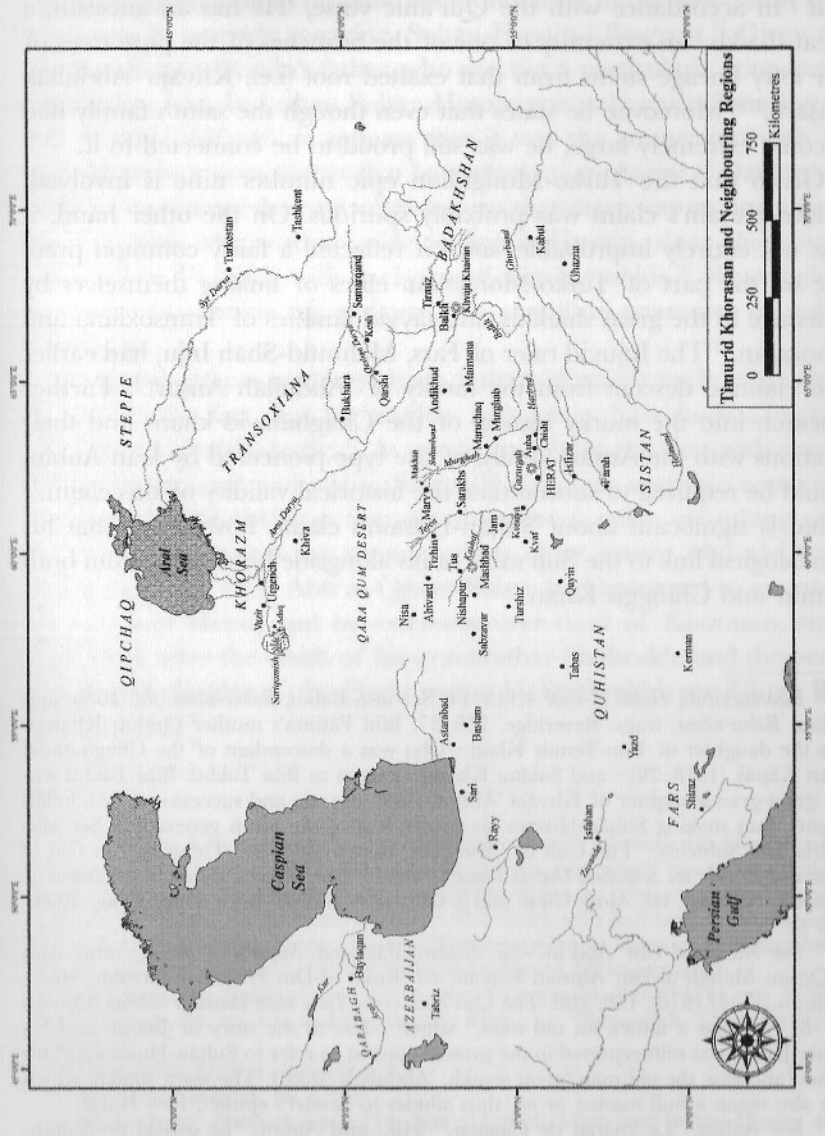
[4] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113. See Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 25, no. 1.6.1.5; 24, no. 1.6.1. For the question of who was Temür's eldest son, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 14 n. 34.

[5] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 522.

[6] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113. For the date of her death, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138-39; and Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:331. Amīr Mūsā had been the leader of the Taychiyut tribe in Temür's time, and his daughter Tümän Agha, had been one of the wives of Temür. See Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 51; Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 61-62; and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 18, no. (G).

[7] Her father was the son of Aka Begim, a daughter of Temür's—see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 17, no. A.0. Her mother, Qutluq-Sulṭān Begim, was the daughter of Temür's third son, Mīrānshāh—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113; and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 42, nos. 3.c, 3.c.a. The Transoxanian prince Mīrzā Mīrak, who is mentioned in the Browne edition, can only be Mīrzā Mīrānshāh—see Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 522. As for her Chinggisid connections, her maternal grandmother (i.e., Mīrānshāh's wife), Urun-Sulṭān, had been a daughter of Suyurghatmish Khan of the line of Ögäday—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113–14 (also for Suyurghatmish Khan's genealogy); and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 33, no. 3.0(c). Temür had put him on the throne in the Ulus Chaghatay in 771/1370 as a figurehead in order to revive the house of Chaghatay. See Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 96.

[8] For Qutluq-Sulṭān Begim, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113; *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 110b; and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 24, no. 1.6(b). The tribe was descended from the Chaghatayid khan Ilchikday—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 88. For Bibi Fāṭima, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113. See also Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 85–86, 280 (7), who considers this genealogy defective; and Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 54.



Map 1. Timurid Khorasan and Neighbouring Regions.

the best independent sources on the genealogy of the later Timurids.[9] However, it was evidently supported by Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself, who in two chancery documents relating to the Anṣārī shrine in Herat, states that "In accordance with the Qur'ānic verse, 'He has an ancestor, a great shaikh,' an extremity of one of the branches of the pure trees of our lofty lineage stems from that exalted root (i.e., Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī)."[10] Moreover, he states that even though the saint's family had become extremely large, he was still proud to be connected to it.

Given that the Turko-Mongolian epic number nine is involved, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's claim was probably spurious. On the other hand, it was not entirely improbable, since it reflected a fairly common practice on the part of Turko-Mongolian elites of linking themselves by marriage to the great shaikhly and sayyid families of Transoxiana and Khorasan.[11] The Injuyid ruler of Fars, Maḥmūd-Shāh Inju, had earlier also claimed descent from the family of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī.[12] Further research into the murky history of the Chaghatayid khans and their relations with the Anṣārī family, of the type pioneered by Jean Aubin, would be required to substantiate the historical validity of this claim.[13] What is significant about Sulṭān-Ḥusain's claim, however, is that his genealogical link to the Sufi saint ranks alongside his descent from both Temür and Chinggis Khan.

[9] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:113–14. See also Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 163b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 256–57. Bibi Fāṭima's mother Qutluq Khanim was the daughter of Isän-Temür Khan—who was a descendant of the Chaghatayid khan Käpäk (1318–26)—and Sakīna Khatun, known as Bibi Tukhtī. Bibi Tukhtī was the great-granddaughter of Khvāja ʿAbd al-Hādī, the son and successor of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, thus making Sulṭān-Ḥusain his descendent in the ninth generation. See also Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī under the Timurids," in *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit/God Is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty: Festschrift in Honour of Annemarie Schimmel*, ed. Alma Giese and J. Christoph Bürgel (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), 389–91.

[10] See Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, comp. Abū al-Qāsim Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Khvāfī, ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūnfarrukh, vol. 1 (Tehran, 1357/1978), 138, 280. The Qur'ānic verse *Lahu aban shaikhan kabīran* (Qur'ān 12:78), "He has a father, an old man," which refers to the story of Joseph and his father Jacob, was reinterpreted in the present context to refer to Sulṭān-Ḥusain and his father/ancestor, the old man/great shaikh, ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī. The word shaikh, which can also mean a Sufi master, or *pīr*, thus alludes to Anṣārī's epithet, Pīr-i Harāt.

[11] See Aubin, "Le khanat de Čaġatai," 34ff.; and Aubin, "Le *quriltai* de Sultân-Maydân," 177ff.

[12] Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran, 1336/1957), 170.

[13] See Aubin, "Le *quriltai* de Sultân-Maydân," 188.

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's parents evidently named him after his maternal grandfather Amīr Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and his brother Bayqara (d. 892/1487) after his paternal grandfather Bayqara b. ʿUmar-Shaikh. Sulṭān-Ḥusain included the filiation to his paternal grandfather in his own name, thus rendering it, properly speaking, Sulṭān-Ḥusain-i Bayqara.[14] Given the fact that Sulṭān-Ḥusain's father, who was not a particularly noteworthy personality, had died when Sulṭān-Ḥusain was only seven (lunar) years old, in 849/1445–46, it appears that it was the connection with his more illustrious grandfather that he wished to emphasize.[15] Daulatshāh certainly overstates the case when he says that there was no one among the Timurids who was as noble as Sulṭān-Ḥusain, since there were many other Timurids with backgrounds similar to his.[16] Nevertheless, no matter how noble the pedigree, it was still no guarantee of political success.

We know almost nothing about Sulṭān-Ḥusain's early education, except for the fact that his teacher appears to have been a certain Maulānā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[17] As would have been the case with youths of his background and status, Sulṭān-Ḥusain was sent into court service, and in 856/1452 at the age of fourteen, after consulting with his mother, he joined the retinue of his older cousin Abū al-Qāsim Babur (d. 861/1457). Abū al-Qāsim Babur had managed to maintain his rule over Herat, and by extension over most of Khorasan, since 853/1449, after the death of his grandfather Shāhrukh, and the occupation and plunder of the Herat region by Shāhrukh's son Ulugh Beg in 852/1448.[18]

[14] I have not, however, indicated the Persian construct marking this filiation when referring to him. To cite another example of this practice, which was common at the time, the name of the famous Timurid wrestler Pahlavān Muḥammad-i Abū Saʿīd indicates his filiation to his maternal uncle Abū Saʿīd, who had been a famous wrestler—see Alisher Navoii, *Asarlar*, 15 vols. (Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom nomidagi badiii adabiёt nashriёti, 1963–68), 14:89 ("Kholoti Pakhlavon Mukhammad").

[15] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:114. For Bayqara (d. 826/1423), see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 24, no. 1.6; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Bāyqarā b. ʿOmar Šayḵ" (by E. Glassen).

[16] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 522.

[17] See *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 158b.

[18] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:114. Abū al-Qāsim Babur and Sulṭān-Ḥusain were actually second cousins once removed. See also Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:29–30; and H. R. Roemer, "The Successors of Tīmūr," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 107–8.

A bon vivant who cared little for the niceties of Islamic legality, Abū al-Qāsim Babur allowed his *amīr*s, or military commanders, to ride roughshod over the population of Herat and its dependencies and to make intolerable exactions from it, and he made no effort whatsover to restore the devastated condition of Khorasan.[19] He was not exactly a role model for the young Sulṭān-Ḥusain, particularly in the areas of agricultural and urban development. Entirely dependent on his *amīr*s, he liberally distributed *soyurghal* grants to them,[20] and when he captured the ʿImād fort, he distributed to them the entire contents of Ulugh Beg's treasury, which had been housed there.[21]

Evidently not satisfied with his patron, Sulṭān-Ḥusain took advantage of the opportunity afforded by a truce reached at the end of 858/1454 with the Timurid ruler of Samarqand, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd (d. 873/1469), after Abū al-Qāsim Babur's unsuccessful attempt to take the city.[22] He approached Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd on the pretext that, being closely related to him, he wanted to become better acquainted with him.[23] While Sulṭān-Ḥusain's family relationship to him was in fact the same as it had been to Abū al-Qāsim Babur, given the rivalry that existed between the different Timurid dynastic lines, this was

[19] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:31. Khvāndamīr records the following verses by him: "The Sharīʿa is a goblet, and Truth is the wine; Only if you break the goblet, will you find true intoxication." See Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk, bi-ẓamīma-i khātima-i Khulāṣat al-akhbār va Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ (Tehran, 1372/1994), 170.

[20] E.g., to his chief *amīr* Khalīl—see Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:181.

[21] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:26, 4:31.

[22] When Abū al-Qāsim Babur laid siege to the city, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, who had allowed his armies to disperse after returning from the campaign against Khorasan, prepared to flee, but the inhabitants of the city, under the leadership of the Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār, rose up in its defence and forced him to remain. An outbreak of epizootic fever in Abū al-Qāsim's army also helped the Samarqand side. See O. D. Chekhovich, "Oborona Samarkanda v 1454 godu," *Izvestiia AN UzSSR, Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk*, 1960, no. 4:36–43; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:52–54; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:177–79.

[23] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:115. Note that this Timurid ruler's name is not Abū Saʿīd but Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, following the double-name style favoured by the Timurids, as in Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 35, no. 3.9.2. The author of *Ẓubdat al-āṯār* appears to have confused Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd with Abū al-Qāsim Babur, and he states that when Sulṭān-Ḥusain wanted to meet with the latter, he was prevented from doing so—see ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī, *Ẓubdat al-āṯār*, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 5368, fol. 460a.

perhaps disingenuous on his part.[24] Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd appears at first to have accorded him a warm welcome, but when another Timurid *mīrzā*, Sulṭān-Uvais b. Muḥammad b. Bayqara, rebelled against him, he imprisoned Sulṭān-Ḥusain along with several other relatives as a precautionary measure. Isfizārī suggests that Sulṭān-Ḥusain may not have been an entirely innocent bystander, and he notes that Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd had detected signs of political ambition in him.[25] Sulṭān-Ḥusain was released, however, at the request of his mother Fīrūza Begim, and allowed to return to Abū al-Qāsim Babur's retinue in Herat where he remained until Babur's death approximately two years later.[26]

The Political Situation after the Death of Abū al-Qāsim Babur

The death of Abū al-Qāsim Babur in Mashhad in Rabīʿ II 861/March 1457 resulted in the absence of central Timurid authority in Khorasan and ushered in yet another period of anarchy in Herat, lasting for two years, characterized by frequent changes of regime and fiscal hardship for the population.[27] With Abū al-Qāsim Babur's eleven year-old son Shāh-Maḥmūd on the throne, *amīr*s and government officials colluded to extort as much as they could from the local population. The powerful *amīr* Shaikh-Abū Saʿīd Qara Arslan imposed a poll tax (*sarshumār*) on the inhabitants of the city. Having divided it into two parts between himself and Amīr Shīr-Ḥājjī, he succeeded in collecting a large amount of money in a matter of only a few days. Compounding this disaster were the extortions practiced by the head of Shāh-Maḥmūd's finance department—the *vazīr* Kulāl Barkash who, together with the overseer of pious endowments (*ṣadr*), ʿAlī Amīr-Khvāja, and with the support of Shaikh-Abū Saʿīd, first seized control of the revenues of the pious endowments and then increased the poll tax by ten-fold. The subsequent brutal attempts to collect these newly assessed taxes brought many a family to the brink of ruin and caused people to flee the city. This

[24] While Sulṭān-Ḥusain was descended from Temür's eldest son, ʿUmar-Shaikh, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd was from the line of Temür's third son, Mīrānshāh. See Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 35, no. 3.9.2.

[25] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:230.

[26] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:115.

[27] He was buried in a mausoleum (*gunbad*) next to the shrine of Imām Riżā at Mashhad—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:57.

desperate situation was ended by Amīr Shīr-Ḥājjī, who assembled a large popular army that included the merchants and peasants of Herat who fought a pitched battle outside the city against the troops of Shaikh-Abū Saʿīd, in the course of which the latter was defeated and killed.[28]

After the death of Shaikh-Abū Saʿīd, another Timurid prince, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlāʾ al-Daula, a great-grandson of Shāhrukh, stated his claim to the throne of Herat. Fearful that Ibrāhīm would gain the upper hand on account of the support he enjoyed in Herat from Gauharshād, the still powerful widow of Shāhrukh,[29] and her loyal relatives, the Tarkhan *amīr*s, Amīr Shīr-Ḥājjī conspired to murder most of them, thus ensuring his control over Shāh-Maḥmūd.[30] Imprisoning both Shāh-Maḥmūd and Gauharshād,[31] he prepared for Ibrāhīm's siege of the city, but when he learned of the approach of the large force the latter had mustered, he fled, as did Shāh-Maḥmūd.[32]

Ibrāhīm succeeded in taking Herat, which he regarded as his "ancestral throne," and he proceeded to bring some order to the administration of the city.[33] But when he was forced to leave Herat almost immediately to do battle with Shāh-Maḥmūd, who had fled to Mashhad, the Timurid ruler of Samarqand, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, took advantage of the opportunity to occupy Herat himself, albeit peacefully, on 26 Shaʿbān 861/July 19, 1457, thereby achieving a long-held ambition.[34] Suspicious of Gauharshād's loyalties, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd had the old woman executed on 9 Ramaḍān 861/July 31, 1457, an act that Khvāndamīr characterized as "a black mark against the reign of that [otherwise] praiseworthy ruler."[35] He soon left Herat, however, to

[28] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:190–93; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:63–64.

[29] She had earlier sent a liegewomen of hers, named Tärkän-Shāh, to try to negotiate a peace between Shāh-Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:65. The prominent political role that women played among the Turkic military elite is noteworthy.

[30] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:193–95; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:64–65.

[31] The former was imprisoned in the fortress of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn and the latter in Shāhrukh's *madrasa*.

[32] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:195–97; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:65–66.

[33] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:197; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:66.

[34] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:197–202; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:66–67. The day before, two separate victory proclamations were made to the inhabitants of Herat—the first by Shāh-Maḥmūd, the second by Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān—which were followed by Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's announcement of his takeover of the city the next day. See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:199.

[35] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:203 (Isfizārī adds that her home was plundered); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:68. For the role of Gauharshād, and her execution, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Women in Timurid Dynastic Politics," in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 132–35.

deal with the revolt of the sons of his cousin ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, in Balkh, and while he was wintering there, Ibrāhīm again took Herat, this time sending his *amīr* Aḥmad Tarkhan as governor of the city.[36]

The population of the Herat region was thus forced to pay the land tax (*māl*)[37] and the "thanksgiving tax" (*shukrāna*)[38] three times in a single year (i.e., 861/1457): first to Shāh-Maḥmūd; then to Ibrāhīm; and finally to Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd.[39] It would be difficult to disagree with Isfizārī's assessment that, "in this year, the affairs of Khorasan were in complete confusion."[40]

The following year did not result in any improvement of the situation in Khorasan, however. The Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen ruler of Iraq and Azerbaijan, Jahānshāh, intruded himself into the continuing conflict between the Timurid *mīrzā*s, Shāḥ-Maḥmūd and Ibrāhīm, in the hopes of conquering Mazandaran for himself. Ibrāhīm's defeat near Astarabad at the hands of the Turkmen in Muḥarram 862/December 1457 did not prevent him from returning to Herat and occupying the throne on 7 Ṣafar 862/December 25, 1457.[41] Khvāndamīr provides an insight into the popular perception of the destructiveness of the internecine struggles between the Timurid princes when he records a comment by a dervish who supposedly met Ibrāhīm when he took Herat this second time and said to him: "O ruler of the world, long may you live! But if you mount one more campaign, the Chaghatayid race (*tukhm-i Chaghatay*) will become extinct!"[42]

Isfizārī sums up the political situation in 862/1457, "the likes of which," he says "had rarely existed in other times," by enumerating the many independent rulers who were in competition with each other at that time, and the areas they controlled: Jahānshāh Qara

[36] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:204–5 (Isfizārī does not provide the details of the revolt of Aḥmad, who was killed in the ensuing battle, and his brother Muḥammad-Juki); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:68–69. Aḥmad Tarkhan made an effort to remedy conditions in Herat, and at the end of Ramaḍān he held a great banquet in commemoration of Gauharshād Begim.

[37] The term *māl* is regularly used in the Timurid sources for the basic land tax, instead of the Islamic term *kharāj*.

[38] Euphemistically, a tax paid to a ruler on his accession, no doubt to cover the cost of related festivities.

[39] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:203.

[40] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:190: *dar īn sāl ikhtilāl-i tamām bi-aḥwāl-i Khurāsān rāh yāft*.

[41] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:205–7; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:69–70.

[42] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:70.

Qoyunlu, the ruler of the two Iraqs and Azerbaijan, held the area from Astarabad to Sabzavar and was camped at Isfarayin; Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā was in control of Balkh; Ibrāhīm's father, ʿAlāʾ al-Daula Mīrzā, was living in Abivard after several years of roaming around in the Qipchaq steppe; Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had just established himself again in Herat; Shah-Mahmud Mīrzā was in the environs of Tus and held the ʿImād fortress; Sulṭān-Sanjar Mīrzā ruled the province of Marv; Amīr Iskandar Turkmen's son, Malik-Qāsim, controlled Sistan (through Amīr Khalīl), Farah and Isfizar. Adding further to the fragmentation of Khorasan was the fact that all the fortresses and strongholds in the province also had their own independent wardens.[43] Indeed, the swiftness with which political fortunes were made and lost in this world of desperate heroism was astonishing.

Marv and the First Period of Qazaqliq

Realizing that he was no match at this early stage of his career for the Baburid *amīr*s and his other Timurid rivals, Sulṭān-Ḥusain left Herat either shortly before or after Abū al-Qāsim Babur's death for the court of his ʿUmar-Shaikhid cousin Sanjar (d. 863/1459) in Marv.[44] Sanjar gave him his daughter, Bike-Sulṭān Begim, in marriage.[45] She was the first of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's legal wives.[46] Both Khvāndamīr and Babur express a negative opinion about her, saying that she was bad tempered and abusive, and her jealousy, which was fuelled by her sense of superiority over Sulṭān-Ḥusain's other wives, made his life so miserable that he finally divorced her.[47] Bored and unhappy, she died in 893/1488 and was buried in a mausoleum in the Badīʿiyya *madrasa* that had been

[43] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:208–9; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:71–72. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress in Herat, for example, was held by Aḥmad Yasavul, who was independent of the ruler of Herat, Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān.

[44] Sanjar (whose name sometimes appears as Sulṭān-Sanjar) was Sulṭān-Ḥusain's first cousin once removed. For him, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 23, no. 1.4.3.

[45] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:115–16; and Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:231 (Isfizārī suggests that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had already married her before Abū al-Qāsim Babur's death). For Bike-Sulṭān Begim, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 23, no. 1.4.3.a (also with the name Khvānd-Sulṭān).

[46] For the complete list of his wives and concubines, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 25–26.

[47] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 168b–169a; Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 267–68; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:182.

built by her eldest son, Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā, who became an ardent political rival of his father's and eventually succeeded him.[48] Sulṭān-Ḥusain and his father-in-law, Sanjar, got along well for a while after he joined the latter's court in Marv. But when Sanjar appointed him as his deputy in Marv during a brief absence in Shaʿbān 861/June–July 1457, Sulṭān-Ḥusain made an attempt to take control of the city with a small contingent of about sixty supporters.[49] Although successful at first, the attempt occasioned a revolt against him by the inhabitants of Marv, led by *amīr*s loyal to Sanjar.[50] Overwhelmed, and abandoned by his supporters, Sulṭān-Ḥusain was forced to flee.

Just outside Marv, however, he was joined by a certain Ḥasan Charkas who pledged loyalty to him with a force of about 200 horsemen. Ḥasan Charkas appears to have been the head of the security force guarding a caravan belonging to the Iränji *ortaq*, which he brought into Sulṭān-Ḥusain's service.[51] The term *ortaq* designated a trading partnership in which merchants operated with capital supplied by a member of a ruling dynasty, that was usually of nomadic origin, and caravans carrying valuable merchandise through desert regions had to be accompanied by an armed security force such as that headed by Ḥasan Charkas.[52] Judging from the name of the *ortaq*, its financial backer must have been Iränji Khan, whose father, the Chinggisid (Jöchid) khan Janibeg, held sway in the Qipchaq steppe at the time.[53] This would have fit the pattern established by the Mongol princes who had regularly formed international trading partnerships with Iranian merchants to procure

[48] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:182.

[49] The small numbers of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's supporters that are mentioned in the sources are quite striking. Sulṭān-Ḥusain first left the city with five horsemen; these were joined by sixty who abandoned him immediately after his unsuccessful attempt to take the city; he was then joined by Ḥasan-i Charkas's 200; these were subsequently routed by Sanjar, leaving no more than twenty-five on the battlefield with Sulṭān-Ḥusain—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:116–17.

[50] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:116 (Khvāndamīr says that this attempt was occasioned by a dispute with one of Sanjar's favourite *amīr*s, Ḥasan Arlat).

[51] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:117. His name properly reads with the Persian construct, Amīr Ḥasan-i Amīr Charkas, for which see n. 56 below.

[52] See Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:25, s.v. *ortāq*; and Thomas T. Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 2, no. 2 (1989): 85ff.

[53] For Iränji Khan, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:273 (although Janibeg's name has been omitted in this edition); Kubo, "*Shaybānī-nāma*," 16; and *Istoriia Kazakhskoi SSR s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 5 vols., ed. A. N. Nusupbekov et al. (Alma Ata: Nauka, 1977–81), 2:260, 2:307.

luxury commodities such as silk, spices, and pearls.[54] It is possible that Ḥasan Charkas highjacked the caravan that he and his men were supposed to be guarding, thereby providing the funds to maintain Sulṭān-Ḥusain's fledgling *qazaq* enterprise. This would explain why Sulṭān-Ḥusain showed Ḥasan Charkas such great favour, immediately conferring upon him the title of *amīr*, and appointing a member of the *ortaq*, named Maqṣūd Iränji, to the post of *bökävül* (Taster) in his personal household.[55] Moreover, shortly thereafter Sulṭān-Ḥusain also married Ḥasan Charkas's daughter Afaq Begim, apparently after her father's death in what appears to have been a military encounter, as well as another daughter named Zainab-Sulṭān.[56]

Pursued by Sanjar's superior force, which defeated him in a skirmish, Sulṭān-Ḥusain withdrew to the Qara Qum desert—at first for a few months in the area of Mākhān northeast of the Marv oasis, from which Sanjar tried several times unsuccessfully to dislodge him, and then to Khorazm where Khvāndamīr says he spent the winter in the barren deserts between Marv and Khiva, "with his feet tucked under the hem of patience, waiting for divine Favour."[57] This was the first of several periods of *qazaqliq* that Sulṭān-Ḥusain would endure during his early career. Contemporary Persian historians, such as Isfizārī, who were writing during the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign, have very little to say about these periods of political vagabondage.[58] Babur, on the other hand, who was very familiar with the custom, mentions Sulṭān-Ḥusain's periods of *qazaqliq* on several occasions in his *Babur-nāma* in a very matter-of-fact way.[59] So does the Shibanid Uzbek history *Ẓubdat al-āṡār*, which states that after his escape from Sanjar's men, Sulṭān-Ḥusain spent a long time in Khorazm as a *qazaq*.[60]

It is noteworthy that Mākhān, which was located close to the Qara Qum desert, had served in the past as a *refugium* for many prominent Khorasanian and Transoxanian political figures who experienced temporary difficulties in their political careers.[61] It had been the village from which the legendary leader Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī had organized his revolt against the Umayyad caliphate, and Temür himself spent several years there as a *qazaq* after being ousted from the Ulus Chaghatay by his Barlas rival, Amīr Ḥusain.[62] Perhaps appreciating its underdog associations, Daulatshāh made a bold comparison in this regard between Sulṭān-Ḥusain's career and Abū Muslim's.[63]

Seeing that there was no real central authority in Khorasan on account of the internecine struggles among the Timurid princes, Jahānshāh Qara Qoyunlu set out to conquer Herat for himself.[64] When Ibrāhīm's father 'Alā' al-Daula, who had returned to Herat in Jumādā II/April, just a few months earlier, heard the news, he abandoned the

[54] For the importance of trading partnerships to nomadic rulers, see Allsen, "Mongolian Princes," 119ff. For the records of a trading partnership, headed by an Iranian merchant, that did business in the Golden Horde capital of Saray during the 1430s, see Walther Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert," *Die Welt des Orients* 1, no. 4 (1949): 315ff.

[55] See *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fols. 156b, 159a; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 195–96.

[56] A notation under Afaq Begim's name in the list of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wives in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* reads, "Daughter of Amīr Ḥasan-i Amīr Charkas. Because [her father] performed honourable service [for him] in Marv and died in the course of his noble endeavours (*dar ṭarīq-i nīk himmatī*), [Sulṭān-Ḥusain] married her." See *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 156b; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 195 (who lists him under *amīr*s of unknown tribal origin). Nothing more is known about him from the Timurid sources. For Zainab-Sulṭān, see *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 157a; and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 1.6.1.5 (g). For Afaq Begim, see chap. 5, pp. 174–75 below.

[57] At this low point in his early career, Sulṭān-Ḥusain was left with only twenty-two supporters whom he sent out to find horses for themselves—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:117–18. According to the *Ẓubdat al-āṡār*, he fled to the Qipchaq steppe—see 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad, *Ẓubdat al-āṡār*, fol. 460a.

[58] Isfizārī also says nothing about Sulṭān-Ḥusain's betrayal of his father-in-law. He simply states that because Sanjar became fearful of him on account of his bravery, etc., Sulṭān-Ḥusain departed "for the deserts of Khorazm." See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:231.

[59] See Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 164a, 165a; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 258–59.

[60] 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad, *Ẓubdat al-āṡār*, fol. 460b, although he states that period was twelve years, which appears to take into account the time from his capture of Marv in 861/1457 until his accession in Herat in 873/1469. The phrase *qazaq yosunluq* ("according to *qazaq* custom") conveys the impression that this was an established custom. For the use of the term *yosun* in this sense, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:556. For the *Ẓubdat al-āṡār*, which was completed ca. 931/1525, see Devin DeWeese, "A Note on Manuscripts of the *Ẓubdat al-āthār*, a Chaghatay Turkic History from Sixteenth-Century Mawarannahr," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6 (1992): 96–100.

[61] For Mākhān (or Mākhuwān as it is usually rendered in the works of the early Arabic geographers), see Shihāb al-Dīn Abī 'Abdullāh Yāqūt b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1955–57; repr. ed., 1995), 5:33; V. A. Zhukovskii, *Drevnosti Zakaspiiskago kraia: Razvaliny Starago Merva* (St. Petersburg, 1894), 68, 136; V. V. Bartol'd, *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 7, ed. I. P. Petrushevskii (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 68; and W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, trans. Svat Soucek, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 45 (where it is given incorrectly as Mahan).

[62] See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* 5:33; Dorothea Krawulsky, ed. and trans., *Ḫorāsān zur Timuridenzeit nach dem Tārīḫ-e Ḥafez-e Abrū (verf. 817–823 h.)*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1982–84), 2:49, 2:177; Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 52; and Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer*, 91–96.

[63] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 522.

[64] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:213.

city on 1 Shaʿbān 862/June 14, 1458, throwing it into turmoil. As people were fleeing from the Turkmen troops, local hooligans were looting their property.[65] Jahānshāh entered the city on 15 Shaʿbān 862/June 28, 1458, and in an effort to conciliate the population, he ordered that the edicts and decrees that had been issued by Shāhrukh should be honoured, and that the administration of all affairs of state and fiscal matters should follow the practice current in Shāhrukh's time.[66] People began slowly to return to their homes, and ʿAlāʾ al-Daula, who in the meantime had had a falling out with his son Ibrāhīm, was welcomed in Herat by Jahānshāh at the end of Ramaḍān 862/July 1458.[67]

This was not a situation to be tolerated for long by Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, who was intent on taking Herat for himself again. A truce was finally negotiated, with Jahānshāh calling for a return to the territorial demarcation that had existed in the time of Shāhrukh: Jahānshāh and his Turkmen troops were to return peacefully to their territories in Azerbaijan and Iraq, while Khorasan, Jurjan, and Mazandaran were to come under Timurid control again.[68] As a result, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd formally occupied the throne of Herat a second time on 15 Ṣafar 863/December 22, 1458.[69] The only challenge to Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's authority—a coalition of Timurid princes that included ʿAlāʾ al-Daula, Ibrāhīm, and Sanjar, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's former patron—was eliminated in a battle that took place in the middle of Jumada I 863/March 1459 and resulted in Sanjar's execution.[70]

By all accounts, although it began badly, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's eleven-year reign in Herat turned out to be a beneficial one.[71] But because of the damage done to the agriculture of Khorasan by the almost continuous warfare, there was a terrible famine in Herat and surrounding regions during the winter months of 863/1458.[72]

[65] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:211–12; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:72–73.

[66] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:213–15; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:73 (*bi-imżāʾ-i amṣila va aḥkām-i khāqān-i saʿīd-i maghfūr farmān farmūd*). One of the first things he did on entering the city was to visit Gauharshād's tomb.

[67] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:216–17; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:73–74.

[68] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:220–21; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:74–75.

[69] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:224–25; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:76.

[70] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:225–28; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:76–78. Ibrāhīm died during his flight, in the middle of Ramaḍān/July of that same year. See Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:235 (he was buried in Gauharshād's *madrasa*); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:78. Shāh-Maḥmūd Mīrzā also died at the end of the same year.

[71] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:223–24.

[72] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:76.

Astarabad and the Second Period of Qazaqliq

When he emerged in the spring of 862/1458 with only twenty-two followers and practically no horses, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's situation had been desperate.[73] Nevertheless, over the course of the summer he was able to muster a force that steadily increased to over 1,000, enabling him to conquer Jurjan all the way to Astarabad, which he took from the Qara Qoyunlu on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijja 862/October 19, 1458. In the process, he seized and distributed all the provincial revenues of the district of Nisa to his soldiers and supporters.[74] In Astarabad, he ordered the *khuṭba* to be read in his own name, without reference to Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, and minted coins for the first time.[75] Sulṭān-Ḥusain was twenty years old at the time.

This was the first of nine heroic feats (*maqāmāt va ḥālāt*) that, in his panegyrical biography of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, Daulatshāh identifies as marking his inevitable rise to power. Interestingly enough, Daulatshāh pretends to present Sulṭān-Ḥusain with the description of these feats in the form of a *toquz*, that is, a traditional Turkic gift given in nines.[76]

In Ṣafar 863/December 1458, soon after Sulṭān-Ḥusain had taken Astarabad, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd retook Herat and, in a noble gesture, sent Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā, who had been imprisoned in the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress, together with his mother Bike-Sulṭān Begim, to Astarabad.[77] At first Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd was well disposed toward Sulṭān-Ḥusain, but soon the two were at loggerheads when Sulṭān-Ḥusain trespassed on Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's territory. As a consequence, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd embarked on a campaign against Jurjan and Mazandaran in Jumādā I 864/February–March 1460.[78] Recognizing the superiority of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's army, Sulṭān-Ḥusain escaped from Astarabad with 500 men and again headed north to Khorazm. After seven days of hard riding, he reached Adaq and Aghrīcha on the

[73] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:118.

[74] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:231–33; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:118–20. Crucial support was provided by nearly 1,000 cavalry soldiers of the Jalayir tribe.

[75] The earliest coin struck by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, at Astarabad in 862/1458, is in the collection of the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen, HK3D2 (it does not bear the formula *bih būd*, for which see n. 102 below).

[76] See Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 522–23 (*bar sabīl-i pīshkash-i Turkān*); for some of the other "feats," see the notes below. For the term *toquz*, see chap. 1, p. 35 above.

[77] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:121; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:234.

[78] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:237–40; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:122.

Amu Darya River.[79] Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd then took over Astarabad and appointed his son, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, as governor, granting him the entire province of Jurjan as a *soyurghal*.[80]

Once again, Sulṭān-Ḥusain had to endure a period of *qazaqliq* in the deserts of Khorazm before he could reconquer Astarabad. In order to muster support, he entered into negotiations with the Uzbeks who were then in control of Khorazm—Muṣṭafā Khan, the ruler of Vazīr,[81] and his brother Pīr-Budaq-Sulṭān—marrying his sister Badīʿ al-Jamāl Begim to the latter.[82] Not only did nothing concrete come of these negotiations, but he managed in the process to offend Muṣṭafā Khan, to whom he had earlier promised his sister, and to become embroiled in a conflict between the two brothers.[83]

When Sulṭān-Ḥusain learned that Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd had left Herat to deal with the rebellion of his younger cousin, Muḥammad-Juki, in Transoxiana, he took advantage of the opportunity to take Astarabad with a small force, and after defeating Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's son, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā, he again entered Astarabad in the middle of Shaʿbān 865/May 1461.[84] Leaving Astarabad under the control of his *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Arghun, Sulṭān-Ḥusain set out to conquer Khorasan from

[79] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:241 (mentions only Aghrīcha); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:122–23. He had to cross the Amu Darya River, which was not the Amu Darya proper but a left sleeve of which at that time flowed into the Sariqamish swamp to the east of the Caspian Sea. For this old course of the Amu Darya, see V. V. Bartol'd, *Svedeniia ob Aral'skom more i nizov'iakh Amu-Dar'i s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3, ed. O. G. Bol'shakov (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 67–69; V. V. Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia Turkestana*, in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3, ed. O. G. Bol'shakov (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 175–78; and V. V. Bartol'd, "K voprosu o vpadenii Amu-Dar'i v Kaspiiskoe more," in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3, ed. O. G. Bol'shakov (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 248–51.

[80] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:241–42; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:123.

[81] The town of Vazīr, which has been identified with the ruins of Dev-Kesken in western Khorazm (present-day northern Turkmenistan), was abandoned at the end of the sixteenth century when the left sleeve of the Amu Darya river, on which it was located, dried up due to over-irrigation. The city had been founded shortly before 1461 by the Uzbek khan Muṣṭafā. The English merchant Anthony Jenkinson visited it in 1558 and described the area south of the citadel as still very fertile. See E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds., *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen*, 2 vols. (n.p.: The Hakluyt Society, 1886; repr. ed., New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), 1:69–70.

[82] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:123–24. For her, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 27, no. 1.6.1.d.

[83] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:123–24.

[84] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:124; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 523 (who regards this as Sulṭān-Ḥusain's second heroic feat).

Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd. His siege of Herat from Dhū al-Qaʿda to Dhū al-Ḥijja 865 (end of August to the beginning of October 1461) was unsuccessful, however, and disagreement among his *amīr*s prevented him from engaging Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, who was returning from Transoxiana after making peace with Muḥammad-Juki.[85] He retired to Astarabad, but the approach of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's superior army forced him to abandon the city in Muḥarram 866/October 1461 and flee back to Adaq.[86]

The Third Period of Qazaqliq

Again Sulṭān-Ḥusain sought refuge in Khorazm and again he attempted to enter into negotiations with Muṣṭafā Khan. But the latter, aware of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's intentions, was reluctant to do so and left Vazīr. In his absence, Sulṭān-Ḥusain occupied the town, and in a humanitarian gesture allowed some of its inhabitants, who had been forcibly resettled from Urgench when Muṣṭafā Khan established it, to return home. He then took Urgench and Khiva, and again attempted to organize his forces for a campaign to Khorasan, but hearing that Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's *amīr*s had assembled a powerful defence force, he retreated to Khorazm.[87]

Not until 868/1464 did he make another attempt to conquer Khorasan from Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd. Plundering and pillaging all the way from Nisa to Turshiz, he met Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's army in the vicinity of Turshiz and repelled it with a small force of eighty to ninety men.[88] But Turshiz was still far from Herat, so Sulṭān-Ḥusain retreated to Marv and then escaped north to Khorazm, when he was pursued and

[85] For the account of the siege, see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1242–46; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:126–27; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:251–56. For a translation and discussion of Samarqandī's account, see Jürgen Paul, "Wehrhafte Städter: Belagerungen von Herat, 1448–1468," *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 58, no. 1 (2004): 177–80.

[86] On this occasion he lost his way during an extremely dark night and his horses became mired in a swamp—Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:127.

[87] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:129.

[88] Khvāndamīr says that Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's army numbered between 3,000 and 4,000—Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:130. According to Babur, Sulṭān-Ḥusain defeated Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's force of 3,000 with only sixty braves (*yigit*)—Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 165a. Daulatshāh regarded "the battle of Turshiz" as Sulṭān-Ḥusain's third heroic feat (although he vastly overstated the size of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's army)—see Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 522–24.

attacked by a group of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's *amīr*s. Along the way, he made a daring attempt to recapture Khiva, which he had lost in the meantime.[89]

This time he had to endure a very long and difficult period of political vagabondage in the deserts of Khorazm that would last about seven and a half years.[90] In total, Sulṭān-Ḥusain spent around ten years roaming around in the Qara Qum desert in the Marv and Khorazm regions, as well as in the Qipchaq steppe, as a freebooting cossack.[91] This was a time of great physical hardship and deprivation, of setting up and breaking camp, and of encounters with passing caravans and wandering holy men, much like the evocative scenes depicted by the mysterious painter Siyāh Qalam (see fig. 2).[92] During this third period of *qazaqliq*, he tried to enlist the aid of the supreme khan of the Uzbeks, Abū al-Khair Khan, who controlled the Qipchaq steppe, but Abū al-Khair Khan's death in 873/1468 and the ensuing political turmoil cut the project short.[93]

The Conquest of Khorasan and Accession to the Throne of Herat

After Abū al-Khair Khan's death, Sulṭān-Ḥusain left the Qipchaq steppe with a small force to attempt once again to conquer Khorasan by himself. The city of Herat did not welcome the news, however, and prepared to defend itself against him, a situation lasting roughly four months, from December 1468 to March 1469.[94] In the meantime, the report was received of the death of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd on 22 Rajab 873/February 5, 1469 at Qarabagh in the province of Arran, after his disastrous attempt to take Azerbaijan from the Aq Qoyunlu leader Uzun Ḥasan.[95]

[89] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:130–31.

[90] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:131–32; and Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:275.

[91] For a reference to his *qazaqliq* in the Qipchaq steppe, see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1312.

[92] For a discussion of the painting, see Roxburgh, *Turks*, 157.

[93] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:132–33.

[94] See Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1344–45; and Paul, "Wehrhafte Städter," 180–81. See also Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:287–89.

[95] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:133; and Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1346–53. For the background to Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's conflict with the Aq Qoyunlu and a description of the course of the battle, see Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 98–99. For the victory proclamations (*fatḥ-nāmas*) issued by Uzun Ḥasan on the occasion, see L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie: 101 persische Dokumente*, ed. G. Hazai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), nos. 11–13.

When Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā, the governor of Samarqand and Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's heir-apparent, was informed by the governor of Herat that Sulṭān-Ḥusain was approaching the city, he headed for Khorasan with the armies of Transoxiana. He was joined at Andikhud by his brother, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd Mīrzā. In view of the death of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd and the fact that the remnants of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's defeated army had joined Sulṭān-Ḥusain, the two decided to abandon Khorasan and return to Samarqand.[96] The way was now clear for Sulṭān-Ḥusain to take Herat, and on 10 Ramaḍān 873/March 24, 1469, he occupied it and proclaimed himself ruler in the Bāgh-i Zāghān (the Ravens' Garden), the traditional seat of government in the city. The Friday prayer sermon (*khuṭba*) was read in his name in the congregational mosque.[97]

Intent on re-establishing order as soon as possible, Sulṭān-Ḥusain appointed Amīr Shaikh-Abū Saʿīd Khān Darmiyān as *darugha*, or governor, of the city, charging him with eliminating troublesome elements.[98] He issued decrees assuring the religious classes of his support and of his intention to enforce the Sharīʿa.[99] He also contracted an important political marriage to Shahr-Bānū Begim, who was the daughter of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, thus making a symbolic connection between his regime and that of his senior and respected predecessor.[100] He also constructed a new royal garden to serve as the seat of government—the Bāgh-i Murād, which was later renamed the Bāgh-i Jahānārā.[101]

In 873/1469, Sulṭān-Ḥusain first minted coins that contained the formula "*bih būd*," which appears to have become a kind of personal device.[102] Seriously misjudging the religio-political climate of Herat,

[96] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:320ff; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:133–34.

[97] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:134–35; and Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1366–67. Daulatshāh regards this as Sulṭān-Ḥusain's fourth heroic feat—see Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 524–25.

[98] For the term *darugha*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:319, s.v. *dārūġa*.

[99] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:134–35.

[100] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1372; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:136. He later divorced her and married her sister Pāyanda-Sulṭān Begim. For both women, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 25, nos. 1.6.1.5 (b), 1.6.1.5 (c).

[101] For a description, see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1373–75; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:136.

[102] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:330; and Stephen Album, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, vol. 9, *Iran after the Mongol Invasion* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), xv. For examples of coins containing the formula in a central lozenge, see Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik (FINT), Tübingen, HK3F5, Astarabad 873; and American

however, he toyed with the notion of mentioning the names of the twelve Shi'ite *imāms* in the *khuṭba* and on his coinage, but he was dissuaded by a group of what Khvāndamīr calls "Hanafite fanatics who held great power in Herat."[103] In fact, the city was overwhelmingly Sunni at the time, a confessional orientation that Shāhrukh had vigorously promoted. While the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bait*) had always been held in high esteem in pre-Safavid Sunni Iran, its specific mention in such political contexts as the Friday public sermon and on coinage must have been interpreted by the Hanafite religious establishment as a provocation. The reason for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's apparent plan to use Shi'ite references should perhaps be sought not in his desire to adopt a decidedly Twelver Shi'ite orientation but in the popular belief in the esoteric role of the *imāms*, and in the influence of charismatic Sufis among Turko-Mongolian peoples. He had been exposed to these influences during his many years of *qazaqliq* in Khorazm, far removed from the institutionalized forms of Islamic belief and practice that characterized the urban oases of Khorasan.

An incident in his early career will serve to illustrate this particular type of spirituality that combined Sufi and shamanistic elements in the

Numismatic Society, New York, 1974.76.266, Herat 895 (reproduced in Linda Komaroff, "The Epigraphy of Timurid Coinage: Some Preliminary Remarks," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31 (1986): 227, plate 38, no. 20). My thanks to Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society for his expert advice and assistance with the identifications. The meaning of the formula *bih būd*, which also appears on various objets d'art of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's, such as his wine cup, and which was even the name of his favourite horse, has never been satisfactorily explained. See V. V. Bartol'd, "Behbud," in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. 4, ed. V. M. Masson (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 354–55; Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, app. H; and Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 93. Roziya Mukminova connected its use with the *tamgha* tax, the right to collect which had apparently been given by Sulṭān-Ḥusain to a certain Amīr Bihbūd who had been a loyal follower during his *qazaqliq* days—see R. G. Mukminova, *Ocherki po istorii remesla v Samarkande i Bukhare v XVI veke* (Tashkent: Fan, 1976), 207–9. I would like to suggest that, while it may have been associated with an individual by this name, the formula *bih būd* (He was good) may also have contained a witty response to the famous motto of the Sasanian ruler Khusrau Anūshīrvān, who was regarded as a model of kingship in medieval Iran, which read, *bih mih na mih bih* (It is the good man who is great, not the great man who is good). For this phrase, which was supposedly engraved on Anūshīrvān's seal ring, and the famous story of the opening of his tomb by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn, which was frequently cited in Persian mirrors for princes, see Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, *Moralia: Les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3e/9e au 7e/13e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), 50 n. 90.

[103] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:136. For the incident, see also Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1391–92.

person of the holy man. In 875/1470, when he set out to recapture Herat from Yādgār-Muḥammad, Sulṭān-Ḥusain stopped at the hostel (*langar*) of a charismatic recluse named Baba Khākī, near Bāgh-i Ribāṭ.[104] When the latter heard of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's approach, he came out to greet him and presented him with a standard, a sheep, and a loaf of bread called *gömech*.[105] He afterwards accompanied Sulṭān-Ḥusain for a distance, gave him his own spear, and pointing three times in the direction of Herat, he uttered a cry and disappeared. Thus spiritually fortified, Sulṭān-Ḥusain went on to conquer Herat.[106] This incident is reminiscent of the prophesy made to Temür by the dervish Baba Sangū just before his conquest of Khorasan, as well as that made to the Aq Qoyunlu leader Uzun Ḥasan by the shaman-like figure Baba 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shāmī.[107]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's first period of rule in Herat was to last only about fifteen months. The challenge to him came from Yādgār-Muḥammad Mīrzā (d. 875/1470), another great-grandson of Shāhrukh's, who had first been supported by Jahānshāh Qara Qoyunlu against Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd, and then, after Jahānshāh's death, by the Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan.[108] Uzun Ḥasan had given Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd over to him for execution at Qarabagh in 873/1469, ostensibly in revenge for Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's execution of his grandmother Gauharshād, back in 861/1457, and he now supported him with a large military contingent in his claim to what he perceived as his hereditary right to Khorasan.[109] Yādgār-Muḥammad was successful at first in capturing Astarabad and the province of Jurjan,[110] but he was then defeated by Sulṭān-Ḥusain in battle on the plain of Chinārān, near Mashhad, in Rabī'

[104] He has not been identified, but he appears to fit the profile of the *mashāyikh-i Turk*, who were affiliated with the lineages of such Yasavī shaikhs as Ismā'īl Ata who were popular among the nomadic Turkic population—see Devin DeWeese, "Yasavī *Šayḫs* in the Timurid Era: Notes on the Social and Political Role of Communal Sufi Affiliations in the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15, no. 2 (1996), 1:182–85.

[105] *Kömech* or *gömech*, a kind of flat-bread baked in embers, was one of the many varieties of Turkish bread, for which see Peter B. Golden, "Chopsticks and Pasta in Medieval Turkic Cuisine," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 49, no. 2 (1994): 77.

[106] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:149.

[107] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:543; and Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 82–84.

[108] For Yādgār-Muḥammad, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 46, no. 4.9.3.1.

[109] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:139, 4:146; and Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 112. In one of his victory proclamations over Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd, Uzun Ḥasan stated that he was "granting" Transoxiana and Khorasan to Yādgār-Muḥammad—see Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 154–55, no. 13.

[110] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:334–35; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:139.

I 874/September 1469.[111] In the *fatḥ-nāma* he issued on this occasion, Sulṭān-Ḥusain states contemptuously that, "the vision of the throne of royalty took hold of [Yādgār-Muḥammad's] mind," after the death of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, but that his Turkmen army was no match for his own, and he attributed the victory to his trusted *amīr* Ḥasan-Shaikh Temür, whom he now appointed to Astarabad.[112]

Yādgār-Muḥammad again requested aid from Uzun Ḥasan, and with a cavalry force of 2,000, he returned to invade Khorasan, taking Sabzavar after profiting from internal troubles in Quhistan. On the first of Ramaḍān 874/March 4, 1470, Sulṭān-Ḥusain left Herat for Sabzavar and recaptured it, thereby securing Quhistan.[113] But when the news arrived that reinforcements had arrived for Yādgār-Muḥammad from Uzun Ḥasan's son Sulṭān-Khalīl, the *amīr*s and soldiers of Khorasan, including Amīr Ḥasan-Shaikh Temür, started to desert to Yādgār-Muḥammad's side. Sulṭān-Ḥusain lost confidence and retreated, first to Mashhad, then, on news of further desertions, to the banks of the Murghab, where he was met by Amīr Muẓaffar Barlas, who had organized the Arlat tribe to join him.[114] Against the backdrop of popular disturbances that were taking place in Herat, some *amīr*s pledged their allegiance to Pāyanda-Sulṭān Begim, who was Yādgār-Muḥammad's aunt. This paved the way for Yādgār-Muḥammad's takeover of the city on 6 Muḥarram 875/July 5, 1470, and the *khuṭba* was read in his name, although subsequently it was to be preceded by the name of Uzun Ḥasan, who had been instrumental in bringing him to power.[115]

In his victory proclamation, issued on the occasion of his accession in Herat, Yādgār-Muḥammad justified his claim to the throne and provided some interesting insights into the relationship between the various branches of the Timurid family, as well as his view of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's

[111] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 526–27 (although Daulatshāh states the month was Ṣafar). It is the fifth in Daulatshāh's list of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's heroic feats. See also Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:343; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:140–41; and Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 112.

[112] Navāʾī, *Asnād*, 349. For Amīr Ḥasan-Shaikh Temür Jalayir, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 214.

[113] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:344–46; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:143. For the text of the victory proclamation, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshāʾ*, 287.

[114] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:346–48; and Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 4:144–46. The Arlat tribe would later achieve great prominence under Sulṭān-Ḥusain.

[115] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:350 (although the edition gives the incorrect date of 895); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:146–47 (thus only in Khvāndamīr). See also Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 113.

period of *qazaqliq*.[116] He states that "from the very beginning of this (i.e., Timurid) dynasty," sovereignty had belonged to the Shāhrukhid branch, to which Yādgār-Muḥammad belonged. But when his father (Sulṭān-Muḥammad) and uncle (Abū al-Qāsim Babur) died while he was still a child, his patrimony was taken from him by Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, a member of the Mīrānshāhid branch. As for Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who belonged to the ʿUmar-Shaikhid branch of the family, Yādgār-Muḥammad states that, because Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd held power, Sulṭān-Ḥusain "had washed his hands of all claims to rule, just like his forebears."[117] In several contemptuous references to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's many years of *qazaqliq*, he states that, "for years he wandered around, dazed and perplexed, in the deserts and wastelands," which he says were "his normal habitat and accustomed places of refuge," and where he and his followers, "in accordance with their nature and the propensity of their kind, joined the wild animals and [other] vagabonds." He blames Sulṭān-Ḥusain for imposing severe burdens on the people of Khorasan when he first took power in Herat and chastises him for "stretching out the hand of tyranny and carelessness to seize illegally the property of Muslims" in order to assemble his army. This, despite the fact that he had already amassed a large quantity of booty. Now, "in the shadow of Yādgār-Muḥammad's justice," the people of Herat had finally found refuge from Sulṭān-Ḥusain's "rapaciousness."[118]

At the same time, Yādgār-Muḥammad informed Uzun Ḥasan that Khorasan had been devastated on account of the constant troop movements. No agricultural activity had taken place in the entire region between Jajarm and the Murghab River, and as a result, he was unable to reward the Turkmen *amīr*s who had helped him come to power.[119] Having taken up residence in Herat, they began to tyrannize the population, and their presence, which had become increasingly difficult to control, would undercut Uzun Ḥasan's efforts to keep Yādgār-Muḥammad on the Timurid throne in Herat.[120]

Despite experiencing several serious political setbacks, which included the defection to Yādgār-Muḥammad's side of the warden (*kutvāl*) of the

[116] For the text of the document, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshāʾ*, 284–86.

[117] Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshāʾ*, 284–85.

[118] Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshāʾ*, 285–86.

[119] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:352–53.

[120] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:351–52, 2:358; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:147.

Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress, who had been appointed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain,[121] and after warding off another attack by several sons of the late Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd, Sulṭān-Ḥusain mustered a force of about 850 men in order to "liberate" the population of Khorasan from the depredations of the Turkmen tribesmen.[122] Launching a surprise raid across the Murghab River from the area of Maimana and Faryab, he reached Herat on the eve of 23 Ṣafar 875/August 21, 1470, and after making a vow at the shrine of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī at Gāzurgāh, he entered the Ravens' Garden residence in the middle of the night. Yādgār-Muḥammad, who had been found asleep on the roof of a garden pavilion in the Bāgh-i Shamāl, was brought before Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who berated the nineteen-year-old youth for having brought shame on the Timurid house by using Turkmen tribesmen to capture "the throne of Shāhrukh." Yādgār-Muḥammad was then executed on the order of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and when the Turkmen learned of the execution, they abandoned the city.[123] The Timurid *amīr* 'Alī Jalayir, who was held responsible for the looting of the Ravens' Garden residence during the course of the raid, was also executed.[124] Not surprisingly, the Timurid historians Mu'īn al-Dīn Isfizārī and Daulatshāh Samarqandī regarded the raid as an exceedingly brave and daring action on the part of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur later compared it to his own surprise capture of Samarqand in 1500, examining the similarities and differences between the two events, point by point.[125]

On 23 Ṣafar 875/August 21, 1470, on the same day that Yādgār-Muḥammad was executed, Sulṭān-Ḥusain acceded to the throne of

[121] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:353–55.

[122] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:357–58; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:149. Daulatshāh suggests that he had 1,000 experienced men and cites the following exchange between Sulṭān-Ḥusain and his *amīr*s: "Is it fitting that, as long as I am alive, such injustice should continue in the lands of Islam?" To which they apparently replied, "May a thousand souls pledge themselves for the *pādshāh* of Islam! We regard this war as being on a par with the great *jihād*." See Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 530.

[123] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:358–66; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:149–51; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 530–31.

[124] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:366–67 (although the other Jalayir *amīr*s were pardoned, they chose to disperse); Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:151; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 531 (Daulatshāh gives the incorrect date of 27 Ṣafar).

[125] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:363–64; and Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 528. Both compared it to the tale of the Sasanian Bahrām Gūr's night raid on the emperor of China, and Daulatshāh regarded it as the sixth of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's heroic feats. See also Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 85a–b; and Dale, *Garden of the Eight Paradises*, 114–15.

Herat for the second time.[126] There has been some confusion about whether 873/1469 or 875/1470 should be taken as the beginning of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign in Khorasan. Isfizārī, a contemporary of the events, argued that it was 873/1469 on the grounds that Sulṭān-Ḥusain first minted coins on that date.[127] In fact, because the period between Yādgār-Muḥammad's capture of the city and Sulṭān-Ḥusain's second accession lasted only about forty-eight days, it seems appropriate to accept 873/1469 as the starting point of his rule in Herat, which would last roughly thirty-seven years until his death on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 911/May 5, 1506.[128]

The Timurid Dual Administrative Structure

One would think that, after a decade of intermittant vagabondage in the deserts of the Qara Qum and in the Qipchaq steppe, Sulṭān-Ḥusain would have been ill-prepared to deal with the administration of the complex social, religious, and economic relations that characterized a sophisticated urban oasis like Herat. But, at the time of his first accession in Herat in 873/1469, he quickly assembled an administrative body consisting on the one hand of some of the *amīr*s who had been with him during his periods of *qazaqliq* and who already held various military posts and household service appointments, and on the other of professional bureaucrats who had served in the administrations of his Timurid predecessors. Before discussing the most important appointments Sulṭān-Ḥusain made at the time of his accession, it would be instructive to provide a brief description of the structure of the Timurid administrative system in order to appreciate the kinds of changes that were introduced into it during his reign.

Since it had emerged from the household guard establishment, the Timurid government was dominated by the military and based on the Chinggisid ranking of military offices, such as *amīr* (Turkic *beg*, Mongolian *noyon*) and *tovachi*.[129] As indicated earlier, in keeping

[126] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:368; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:151. See also Woods, *Aqquyunlu*, 113.

[127] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:330, 2:318.

[128] For the date of his death, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:319.

[129] The *tovachi*, or troop inspector, was charged with mustering the army—see Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 173; and Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:260, s.v. *tovāčī*.

with the patrimonial nature of the Timurid polity, titles such as the Taster (*bökävül*), the Cup-bearer (*suchi*), the Falconer (*qushchi*), and the Cheetah-keeper (*barschi*), denoted household service positions as well as government appointments. The household establishment also included the trusted Insider, denoted by the title *ichki* (or *muqarrab*), who did not have defined duties but who was in constant attendance on the ruler and served him in an advisory capacity.[130] There were also individuals with special hereditary privileges, such as those designated *tarkhan*, who enjoyed judicial and tax immunity and unrestricted access to the ruler.[131]

The requirements of ruling over a sedentary population in the agrarian oases of Central Asia and Iran, however, necessitated the adoption of the traditional Perso-Islamic administrative system of the *dīvān*, which was concerned primarily with financial and bureaucratic matters, including chancery correspondence.[132] The Timurid administration thus acquired a dichotomous structure that distinguished between the "military" and "civilian" branches of government, and that functionally corresponded to the cultural division that existed in Timurid society between the Turkic and Tajik (Iranian) spheres, respectively.[133] The duality of administrative functions on which Timurid government was based replicated the relationship that existed in previous post-Mongol states, such as those of the Yüan and the Ilkhanids, between the Mongol military and indigenous Chinese and Iranian bureaucrats.[134]

The early Timurid administration consisted of the *dīvān-i tovachi*, which dealt with military affairs and was controlled by the Barlas tribe, and the *dīvān-i aʿlā*, which dealt with administrative and financial affairs, as well as with judicial matters involving the *yarghu* court of

[130] For the title *ichki*, see chap. 1, p. 34 above.

[131] For the term *tarkhan*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:460–74; and Allsen, "Spiritual Geography," 130.

[132] For the history of the *dīvān* in Iran, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Dīwān, iv. Īrān" (by Ann K. S. Lambton).

[133] See Hans Robert Roemer, ed. and trans., *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāmä des ʿAbdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1952), 169–72; Roemer, "Successors of Tīmūr," 132; Manz, *Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 167–70; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 223–54. For the term Tajik and its alternative forms, Tazik and Tazhik, see Subtelny, "Symbiosis," 48.

[134] On this point, see Donald Ostrowski, "The *Tamma* and the Dual-Administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no. 2 (1998): 270–76 (although his comments relate more to provincial administration); and Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 144.

investigation.[135] Previously, scholars maintained that the *dīvān-i aʿlā* (or *dīvān-i buzurg*) referred to the military administration, but Shiro Ando demonstrated that it was the equivalent of the *dīvān-i māl*, which was in keeping with historical usage.[136] Because Persian was the language of the bureaucratic administration and chancery correspondence, the *dīvān-i aʿlā* was regarded as the *dīvān* of the Persians. Often inheriting their positions or having served in the administrations of previous rulers, the Persian secretaries (*navīsandagān-i Tājīk*) who staffed it and who held the title of *vazīr*, exhibited remarkable professional continuity.[137] As for the *dīvān-i tovachi*, because it was dominated by Turko-Mongolian *amīr*s and staffed by Turkish secretaries (*navīsandagān-i Türk*), many of whose names attest to their Uighur scribal (*bakhshi*) backgrounds, it was sometimes dubbed the *dīvān* of the Turks.[138] To demonstrate the distinction between the Turkic and Persian administrative spheres, ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī referred to the two *dīvān*s in a literary context by means of the rhyming phrases, *Türk aivāni* (the Turkish assembly hall) and *Sart dīvāni* (the Persian bureaucracy).[139]

The highest ranking personnel of both *dīvān*s had the title *amīr*, or military commander. In accordance with the Chinggisid ranking of offices, the *amīr*s of the *dīvān-i tovachi* had precedence over those of the *dīvān-i māl*.[140] Collectively, the *amīr*s of the two *dīvān*s were known as

[135] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 224–27.

[136] For which see Ann K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century* (n.p.: The Persian Heritage Foundation, Bibliotheca Persica, 1988), 28–29; and Mukhammad Ibn Khindūshakh Nakhchivānī [Nakhjivānī], *Dastūr al-kātib fi taʿīīn al-marātib (Rukovodstvo dlia pistsa pri opredelenii stepenei)* [*Dastūr al-kātib fi taʿyīn al-marātib*], ed. A. A. Ali-zade, 2 vols. in 3 (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 2:163–64.

[137] See *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 159b; Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 237–38; and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Dīwān, iv. Īrān" (by Ann K. S. Lambton), 333.

[138] See *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 159a; and the lists below. The traditional role of the *bakhshi*s had been to keep records for the *tovachi*s during the mustering of troops—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 234 n. 10. For the term *bakhshi*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:271–77, s.v. *bahšī*; and Subtelny, "ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī," 799.

[139] See Subtelny, "*Vaqfiya* of Mīr ʿAlī Šīr," 262. For the term Sart as a synonym for Tajik, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Sārt" (by W. Barthold and M. E. Subtelny), 67.

[140] For a discussion of the depiction of the relative positions of the two *dīvān*s in an early Timurid drawing of the court of Temür's grandson Khalīl-Sulṭān, with the personnel of the *dīvān-i tovachi* on the right and the personnel of the *dīvān-i aʿlā*, including the Persian *vazīr*s, on the left, see Shiro Ando, "Zum timuridischen Staatswesen: Eine Interpretation des Miniaturentwurfs in Diez A. Fol. 74," in *Zafar Nāme: Memorial Volume of Felix Tauer*, ed. Rudolf Veselý and Eduard Gombár (Prague: Enigma, 1996), 28–30, 33 (for the illustration).

the *umārā-yi buzurg* (Turkic, *ulugh begler*), and their respective heads had the title chief *amīr* (*amīr al-umarā'*). It is unclear whether this double system was maintained under the later Timurids, and it is possible that one chief *amīr* headed both *dīvāns*.[141] Originally, the *dīvān amīr*s were of Turkic origin, but in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, Tajik bureaucrats began to be appointed as heads of the *dīvān-i aʿlā*, a departure from earlier Timurid practice. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the *dīvān-i aʿlā* was dominated by the enduring Persian office of *vazīr*, as Tajiks asserted their professional competence in bureaucratic and financial affairs over the Turkic military branch.[142] As we shall see in the next chapter, Persians were even granted membership in the household establishment, the traditional preserve of the Turko-Mongolian military elite, with its roots in the *keshik* guard corps.

At the time of his accession, Sulṭān-Ḥusain followed Timurid tradition and appointed his nephew Muḥammad-Sulṭān, known as Kichik Mīrzā, as head of his administration.[143] He also made several key appointments of Persian bureaucrats who had served under his Timurid predecessors, thereby ensuring a degree of administrative continuity. Especially noteworthy was his appointment of Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭā'us Simnānī, the scion of a family claiming descent from the Sasanian king Bahrām Gūr, who had been *vazīr* to both Abū al-Qāsim Babur and Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, as *mushrif* (overseer) of the *vazīr*s in the *dīvān-i aʿlā*. Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭā'us had focused his energies as *vazīr* on reviving the agriculture of Khorasan, in recognition of which Abū al-Qāsim Babur had granted him his native province of Simnan as a *soyurghal*. After Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's defeat at Qarabagh, Uzun Ḥasan had invited him to join his administration, but Quṭb al-Dīn refused, evidently preferring Timurid service to that of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkmen.[144] Others who were appointed *vazīr*s at the time included Saif al-Dīn Muẓaffar

[141] Under Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd', the overseer (*mushrif*) of the *vazīr*s of the *dīvān-i aʿlā* was the intermediary between the *amīr*s and the *vazīr*s—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 238; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 388.

[142] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 227–31, 236; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Dīvānbegī, i. The Timurid Period" (by Shiro Ando).

[143] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:321–22; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138. For Muḥammad-Sulṭān, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 33, no. 3.1.4.1. He was the son of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sister Aka Beki, and Mīrzā Sulṭān-Aḥmad, who was the son of Mīrzā Sayyidī-Aḥmad b. Mīrānshāh, and who is not to be confused with Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā, the son of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā.

[144] See Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1370; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:313; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138, 4:328; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 380–90.

Shabānkāra, a member of a prominent family from Fars province,[145] 'Abdullāh Akhṭab, another former *vazīr* of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's,[146] and Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Simnānī, who had been in charge of the revenue administration of the province of Bādghīs.[147] Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī, who had also been in Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's service, was appointed *ṣadr*.[148]

Apart from the military personnel who were already in his entourage and who held household service appointments dating from his periods of *qazaqliq* and short tenures at Marv and Astarabad, Sulṭān-Ḥusain was joined by powerful *amīr*s who had been in the service of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd.[149] Amīr Sayyid-Murād Ughlaqchi, for example, and many of his relatives and tribal forces who had been with Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd at the battle at Qarabagh came to Herat at this time to assure for themselves a place in this new Timurid political enterprise.[150] Besides the Barlas, Arlat, and Jalayir, who were particularly favoured by Sulṭān-Ḥusain on account of the political and military support they gave him during his extended period of *qazaqliq*, the Turko-Mongolian tribes represented in his administration were the Arghun, Qunghrat, Turkmen (especially the Sanjarī branch), Tarkhan, Uzbek, Ilchikday (especially the Nukuz and Qipchaq branches), and the Uighur.[151] Some of these, notably the Barlas, Arlat, and Tarkhan, enjoyed hereditary privileges; others, such as the Jalayir and Qunghrat, came to prominence only in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time. As for the Uighur and Nukuz, who did not belong to

[145] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:313; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138. For the biographical notice on him see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:329–30; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 399–400.

[146] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 391.

[147] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 394.

[148] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:313; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138, 4:321–22.

[149] For the appointments made by Sulṭān-Ḥusain from the time of his stint at Marv in 861/1457 until ca. 878/1473–74, see *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fols. 156b–159b. Commissioned by Shāhrukh, the *Muʿizz al-ansāb* was continued in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign to the year 878/1473–74 and probably beyond. For a breakdown of the lists of *amīr*s (*dīvān-i tovachi* and *dīvān-i māl*, or *dīvān-i aʿlā*), *tovachi*s (troop inspectors), *parvānachī*s (heads of the chancery), *muhrdār*s (keepers of the seal), *navīsandagān-i Türk* (Turkic scribes), *navīsandagān-i Tāzīk* (Persian scribes), *yurtchi*s (quartermasters), *ṣadr*s (overseers of religious offices and endowments), *qorchi*s (quiver-bearers), *bökāvül*s (tasters), *suchi*s (cup-bearers), *qushchi*s (falconers), and *barschi*s (cheetah-keepers), according to their tribal and clan affiliations, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 194–200.

[150] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:313; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:138; and *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 157b.

[151] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 200–217, 232–36. Tarkhan became a tribal designation from the time of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd.

the paramount Timurid tribes, they played an important role in the household establishment as *ichkis*.[152]

On Bayram 873/April 14, 1469, a few weeks after his accession, Sulṭān-Ḥusain was joined by his foster-brother (*kökältash*) ʿAlīshīr Uighur (844–906/1441–1501), who would become a pivotal political and cultural figure of his reign (see fig. 3). ʿAlīshīr came to Herat from Samarqand where he had been in the camp of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's son Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā, who had tried to take Khorasan himself after his father's death.[153] On account of his family's history of service to the Timurid house and his Uighur scribal background, ʿAlīshīr was appointed keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*), and in 875/1470 he was named *amīr*.[154] Assimilated into the royal household as an *ichki*, he acted chiefly as an adviser to Sulṭān-Ḥusain without any defined administrative appointment. In the Persian sources he is often referred to simply as *muqarrab-i ḥażrat-i sulṭānī*, which indicates that he was a member of the guard/household establishment.[155] ʿAlīshīr's position at the Timurid court may be regarded as having been akin to that of the prominent Yüan political figure Lien Hsi-hsien, who likewise hailed from a distinguished Uighur family in Mongol service and who, as a member of the imperial guard corps of Qubilai Khan, served him chiefly in a trusted advisory capacity.[156]

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[152] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 252–53, 271.

[153] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:137. On Bayram (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr) he presented him with his panegyrical poem entitled *Hilāliyya*.

[154] See *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fols. 158a, 159a.

[155] Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navā'ī," 805–6; and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī" (by M. E. Subtelny). My remarks about ʿAlīshīr's position at the Timurid court in relation to the paramount tribes are to be supplemented by the interpretation presented here of his membership in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment.

[156] See Hsiao, "Lien Hsi-hsien," 480–82. For the assimilation of such culturally proficient individuals with scribal backgrounds into the Yüan imperial guard, see I. de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243), Yeh-lü Chu (1221–1285)," in de Rachewiltz et al., *In the Service of the Khan*, 151–52. It is noteworthy that Hsi-hsien was as steeped in the dominant sedentary culture of Chinese Confucianism as was ʿAlīshīr in Perso-Islamic literature and learning. For the cultural role of Uighurs in the various Mongol and post-Mongol states, see A. A. Semenov, "Ocherk kul'turnoi roli uigurov v mongol'skikh gosudarstvakh," in *Materialy po istorii i kul'ture uigurskogo naroda*, ed. G. S. Sadvakasov (Alma Ata: Nauka, 1978), 22–48.

Chronological Summary of the Career of Sulṭān-Ḥusain

Control of Marv, 861/1457 (three to five months)
Rabīʿ II 861/March 1457—Shaʿbān 861/July 1457

First period of *qazaqliq*, Marv-Khorazm, 861–62/1457–58 (ca. fifteen months)
861/1457—Dhū al-Ḥijja 862/October 1458

First capture of Astarabad, 862–64/1458–60 (sixteen to seventeen months)
10 Dhū al-Ḥijja 862/October 19, 1458—Jumādā I 864/February–March 1460

Second period of *qazaqliq*, Khorazm, 864–65/1460–61 (fourteen to fifteen months)
Jumādā I 864/February–March 1460—Shaʿbān 865/May 1461

Second capture of Astarabad, 865–66/1461 (four to five months)
Shaʿbān 865/May 1461—Muḥarram 866/October 1461

Third period of *qazaqliq*, Khorazm, 866–73/1461–69 (ca. seven and a half years)
Muḥarram 866/October 1461—10 Ramaḍān 873/March 24, 1469

Accession to the throne of Herat, 873–75/1469–70 (fifteen months)
10 Ramaḍān 873/March 24, 1469—6 Muḥarram 875/July 5, 1470

[Yādgār-Muḥammad in control of Herat 875/1470 (forty-eight days)
6 Muḥarram 875/July 5, 1470—23 Ṣafar 875/August 21, 1470]

Recapture of Herat, 875–911/1470–1506 (ca. thirty-six years)
23 Ṣafar 875/August 21, 1470—11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 911/May 5, 1506

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE: CENTRALIZING REFORMS AND THEIR OPPONENTS

Financial Pressures and Short-term Solutions

The high cost of rewarding old retainers and recruiting new personnel on accession placed severe pressures on the already strained financial resources of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's fledgling state. Added to this was the almost immediate necessity of having to deal militarily with the threat of rival claimants, particularly the many sons of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, who asserted their claims to rule in accordance with the notion of corporate sovereignty. With the agriculture of Khorasan in decline as a result of the continual movement of troops (a complaint made already by Yādgār-Muḥammad following his capture of Herat), the main tax base had become seriously eroded, and not even an agricultural specialist like Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus could rectify the situation in the short term.

In order to maintain the financial solvency of the state, extraordinary measures were called for. Traditionally, these included the levying of various kinds of poll taxes and other uncanonical taxes on the subject population. The *vazīr* Khvāja Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Simnānī, for example, was entrusted with the task of uncovering latent sources of revenue (*jihāt-i ghāyibī*). He agreed to raise 3,000 *tūmān*s (30 million *dīnār*s) in this way for the *dīvān*.[1] But when it became evident that he would not be able to raise even half that sum, he foolishly suggested that some of the royal gardens of Herat, such as the Bāgh-i Safīd and the Bāgh-i Zāghān, should be included in the category of latent sources of revenue and assessed. Not only was he dismissed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain for the suggestion, but arrested and sent to prison, where he died.[2]

The fines imposed on high-ranking officials of the *dīvān* and the confiscation of their property, including that of their relatives, on

[1] For the *tūmān*, which was equivalent to 10,000 *dīnār*s, see Walther Hinz, "The Value of the Toman in the Middle Ages," in *Yād-Nāme-ye Irānī-ye Minorsky*, ed. Mojtaba Minovi and Iraj Afshar (Tehran, 1348/1969), 91. For the Timurid *dīnār*, see app. 2, n. 194.

[2] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 394.

charges of embezzlement or other fiscal improprieties, occurred with such regularity that they can almost be regarded as having constituted in themselves a regular source of revenue for the state.[3] These often specious charges appear to have been motivated in part by the marked proclivity of *dīvān* officials to undermine their colleagues' careers by casting aspersions on their probity in the conduct of financial affairs. Thus, it was not long before ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab denounced Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus to Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who then ordered him arrested and imprisoned. Not only was ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab promoted to Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus's old post of *mushrif* of the *dīvān-i aʿlā*, but the state coffers were replenished by the hefty sum of 300,000 *kapakī dīnār*s, which Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus had been ordered to pay as a fine.[4] While Sulṭān-Ḥusain was away on campaign against Yādgār-Muḥammad in 874/1470, he left ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab in charge of the *dīvān* together with Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Simnānī. Either acting on his own, or on instructions from Sulṭān-Ḥusain, ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab imposed a head tax (*sarshumār*) and dwelling tax (*sarāshumār*) on the inhabitants of the city, and ordered them, under oath, to itemize everything they owned in cash and kind so that the tax to support the military (*zar-i lashkar*) could be assessed on it.[5]

All of these poll taxes were collected in cash and were therefore extremely onerous for the subject population. This led to an uprising in the city against ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab.[6] When he learned of the popular unrest in Herat, Sulṭān-Ḥusain dispatched ʿAlīshīr on the first of the many delicate diplomatic missions he would undertake during his career, with a royal order calling for ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab's arrest and imprisonment. Forewarned, ʿAbdullāh Akhṭab escaped to the court of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, where he would serve for many years as *vazīr*. His colleague Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhtiyār was also arrested and stripped of

[3] A frequent occurence in the careers of *vazīr*s, to judge from such sources as Khvāndamīr's *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*.

[4] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:144.

[5] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 392; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:144. For these taxes, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 381; Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," 549–50; and N. Makhmudov, "Feodal'naia renta i nalogi pri Timure i timuridakh," *Trudy Tadzhikskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Seriia istoricheskikh nauk*, vyp. 2, *Voprosy istorii SSSR* (Dushanbe, 1966): 246–48. The *zar-i lashkar* was also called *nāmbardār*, for which see n. 12 below.

[6] For the uprising, see also M. R. Arunova, "K istorii narodnykh vystuplenii v gosudarstve timuridov v XV v.," in *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta vostokovedeniia*, 37, *Afganskii sbornik* (1960): 34–36.

power, and Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭā'us Simnānī was then reinstated as *mushrif* of the *dīvān*.[7]

A graphic illustration of the continuity of Timurid bureaucratic administration is provided by the fact that, after Yādgār-Muḥammad took Herat from Sulṭān-Ḥusain in 875/1470, forcing him to leave the city for a short period, Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭā'us stayed on in Yādgār-Muḥammad's administration and was appointed *amīr* of the *dīvān-i a'lā* and chief executive officer of the state (*ikhtiyār-i mulk va māl*).[8] At the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's second accession, however, Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭā'us declined to serve again in any capacity in the *dīvān*, no doubt thankful for having managed to navigate through the treacherous waters of bureaucratic service for as long as he had.[9]

Symbolic Measures on Accession to the Throne

His ouster from Herat by Yādgār-Muḥammad, and the rapidity with which his earlier administrative appointments had switched political sides, must have acted as a wake-up call for Sulṭān-Ḥusain. At the time of his second accession in Ṣafar 875/August 1470, it was clear that he needed to adopt long-term policies that would deal more effectively with problems, particularly in the area of fiscal and tax administration. Evidently apprehensive that his accession would signal new exactions, the inhabitants of Herat had started to compare his administration with that of previous rulers, particularly with that of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd.[10] With the memory still fresh of the popular uprising that had taken place just a few months earlier in response to the imposition of the head and dwelling tax by his *vazīr* 'Abdullāh Akhṭab, Sulṭān-Ḥusain went out of his way to gain popular support.

The day after his accession, he publicly announced in the presence of the chief judge of Herat, Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Imāmī (d. 878/1474), and the *muḥtasib*, Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain (d. 888/1483), that he intended to ameliorate the conditions of the subject population by

[7] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 392; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:144–45.

[8] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:354. According to Khvāndamīr, he was appointed *mushrif* of the *dīvān*, while Yādgār-Muḥammad's aunt, Pāyanda-Sulṭān Begim, was named chief executive officer—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:147; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 388, where he is simply called *vazīr* of the *dīvān*.

[9] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 389.

[10] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:370–71.

sparing them from the payment of various forms of arbitrary taxation that had apparently become the norm.[11] In order to revive both agriculture and trade in the Herat region, he announced that no extraordinary taxes (*vujūh-i khāriji*) or tax in support of the military (*zar-i lashkar, nāmbardār*),[12] which were regarded as onerous by the subject population, would be assessed or collected from the inhabitants, peasants, artisans, and craftsmen of the city of Herat, its districts (*bulūkāt*), and provinces (*vilāyāt*) for a period of two years.[13] This was an extraordinary concession, since the Timurids had come to rely on the various poll taxes and other uncanonical taxes as ready sources of cash, and in their absence the shortfalls they chronically experienced would have to be made up in some other way. According to Khvāndamīr, these policies were intended "to remedy the state of disorder" in which the population of Herat found itself at that time.[14] In an unprecedented action, the chief qadi and the *muḥtasib* were ordered to accompany a public crier who proclaimed the tax exemption throughout the bazaars and quarters of the city.[15]

The next morning, which was a Thursday, in a gesture charged with political and religious significance, Sulṭān-Ḥusain paid a visit with his entire retinue to the shrine of the Sufi patron saint of Herat, Khvāja 'Abdullah Anṣārī, and announced in the presence of the *muḥtasib* that he would administer the city in accordance with the policies of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd.[16] In so doing, Sulṭān-Ḥusain hoped to reinforce the perception

[11] Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Imāmī had been chief qadi of Herat since the end of Shāhrukh's reign—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:105. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain had been *muḥtasib* since Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's reign—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:108; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:221. Isfizārī specifically mentions such practices as *ḥavālāt, muqāsamāt, taḥmīlāt*, and *'avāriżāt*—see Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:371.

[12] The *zar-i lashkar* and the *nāmbardār* appear to have been the same tax. See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152; Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:371; Makhmudov, "Feodal'naia renta," 250–55; and N. Makhmudov, "Iz istorii zemel'nykh otnoshenii i nalogovoi politiki timuridov," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzhikskoi SSR*, 1963, 1 (32):29–30.

[13] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:370–71. Compare with Shāhrukh's exemption of the inhabitants of Isfahan from the payment of one-third of the taxes they owed in 817/1414, the year in which he assumed control of the city—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:591.

[14] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152.

[15] Thus only in Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:371–72.

[16] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152; and Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 2:372–73. For an explicit statement of what the administrative practice of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd consisted of, with respect to the *vilāyat* of Ḥarzdān (?), see Krawulsky, *Ḥorāsān* 2:48; or Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:462, 1:435. See also the edict he issued on this occasion in "Recueil

of a legitimate continuity between Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's reign in Herat, which was universally regarded as having been positive, and his own. Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain, who had served as *muḥtasib* of Herat since Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's time, served as a crucial link.[17] He had been known for protecting the interests of the artisans and merchants of the city by not allowing the military commander of the district to have free rein in the area of tax assignments, and by forbidding the issuance of tax vouchers (sg. *barāt*) without his approval, a principle that remained in force throughout Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's reign.[18]

At the same time, Sulṭān-Ḥusain inaugurated what may be termed a "return to Islam" policy in the sphere of everyday life, and he vowed not to neglect any matter concerning the Sharīʿa that was referred to him or to members of his family.[19] In his apologia, he would later boast that, "Although in the days of some [other rulers], the principles of the Sharīʿa and the community of Islam were at the mercy of heretics," in his day, "the arms of the Holy Law and the laws of the Prophet are so strong that the morality squad (*iḥtisāb ahli*) would even flog Venus the Musician, and after breaking her lute and harp in the third heaven would cast them to the ground."[20] It appears that he issued public orders prohibiting wine-drinking and the shaving of beards at this time, although, in view of the weakness that practically all of the Timurid princes, including Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself, continued to have for alcohol, and the important role drinking played in Timurid court culture, the prohibition against wine-drinking was a hollow gesture as far as the court itself was concerned.[21]

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de documents diplomatiques, de lettres et de pièces littéraires," MS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 1815, fols. 35a–36a.

[17] The *muḥtasib* appears to have had great religious authority under the Timurids, exercising supervision over the market, irrigation, as well as public morality. For the office, see Willem Floor, "The Office of *Muhtasib* in Iran," *Iranian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1985): 60–65 (although with little to say about the Timurid situation).

[18] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:108. Khvāndamīr states that Kamāl al-Dīn would not enjoy the same power and prestige under Sulṭān-Ḥusain as he did under Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd.

[19] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152; and Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:373.

[20] See Tourkhan Gandjeï, "Uno scritto apologetico di Ḥusain Mīrzā, sultano del Khorāsān," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s., 5 (1953): 170. The reference is to the planet Venus, who was associated, among other things, with music and song. The phrase *iḥtisāb ahli* refers to the functions of the *muḥtasib*.

[21] Neither the date nor Sulṭān-Ḥusain's name are specifically mentioned in the edicts, but all indications point to the fact that they were issued by him. For the order prohibiting wine-drinking (which also includes a public renunciation of wine-drinking by 113 courtiers), see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 164; and "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fol. 114b. For the prohibition against shaving beards and rowdy behaviour, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 159; "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fol. 115b; and Navāʾī, *Asnād*, 410.

These measures were designed to garner support from the religious intelligentsia of the city, whose members Sulṭān-Ḥusain confirmed in their positions.[22] According to Khvāndamīr, he always patronized members of the religious class, inviting them to a formal audience twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, and always deciding matters in accordance with their legal opinions.[23]

Professionalization of the Bureaucratic Administration

In addition to these symbolic measures, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's most far-reaching policy decision was the appointment of certain professional bureaucrats to manage the financial affairs of the state. According to Babur, "At the beginning, there was no proper organization or management [in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's finance office], and the result was much waste and extravagence. The peasant did not prosper, nor was the soldier satisfied."[24] Sulṭān-Ḥusain's cash flow problems had become acute: apparently, on one occasion when he requested a certain sum of money from the *dīvān*, the officials told him that, since there were no revenues, there was none to be had.[25]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's most important appointment early in his reign was Khvāja Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī, who held several positions in the chancery and financial bureaucracy before being given plenipotentiary powers to introduce radical reforms into the system of tax collection and fiscal administration.[26] Majd al-Dīn was the son of Khvāja Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khvāfī, who had headed Shāhrukh's finance office for thirty years, from 820/1417 to 850/1447,[27] and who subse-

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[22] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:373; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152.

[23] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:111 (*bi-muqtaẓā-yi fatvā-i a'imma-i dīn*).

[24] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 176b.

[25] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 176b: *Yoqtur ḥāṣil bolmas*.

[26] For Majd al-Dīn's career and reforms, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform and Its Opponents in the Late Timurid Period," *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988): 131–51 (which is expanded and in some respects amended in the discussion that follows).

[27] See the notice on him in Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 353–57; Saif al-Dīn Ḥājjī b. Niẓām ʿUqailī, *Āṯār al-vuzarā'*, ed. Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusainī Urmavī "Muḥaddiṯ" (Tehran, 1337/1959), 342–43 (where he is incorrectly called Khvāja Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khvāfī); Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:218–19; and Khvāndamīr,

quently served a number of other Timurid princes in an administrative capacity, including ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, ʿAlāʾ al-Daula, Sulṭān-Muḥammad,[28] and Abū al-Qāsim Babur, until his death in 857/1453.[29]

Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad's main contribution to Timurid administrative practices was the introduction of bureaucratic procedures into Shāhrukh's finance office, including the use of accountancy script (*siyāq, siyāqat*), and the keeping of financial ledgers (*daftar*).[30] Although they were by no means new, the measures he introduced became standard practice in the Timurid *dīvān*.[31] These procedures had been recorded in an administrative manual entitled *Baḥr al-siyāqa* (The "sea" of accounting notation) composed by a certain Maulānā Sharaf al-Dīn, who is referred to as having been a chief accountant (*ustād al-muḥāsibīn*). This work, which is now lost, was described as a "comprehensive manual of accounting" (*jāmiʿ al-ḥisāb*) dealing with the administration of *dīvān* affairs and the method of accounting notation. Ghiyāṯ al-Din Pīr-Aḥmad commissioned one of his functionaries by the name of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī, also known as Shumārī ʿAlī Shīrāzī (the accountant ʿAlī of Shiraz), to make a summary (*mukhtaṣar*) of it for trainees of the finance department.[32] The summary he produced,

Ḥabīb al-siyar 3:601. Babur says that he "single-handedly ran Shāhrukh's finance office"—see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 176b. He was also a great patron of architecture, including the Ghiyāṯiyya *madrasa* in Kharjird-i Khvāf, for which see Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk*, 169; and Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 1:322, no. 84.

[28] Who named him to the circle of great *amīrs*—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:41; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarāʾ*, 356. ʿUqailī calls him one of the great *amīrs* and powerful men of state under Sulṭān-Muḥammad—see ʿUqailī, *Āṯār al-vuzarāʾ*, 343.

[29] Abū al-Qāsim Babur did not waste any time in trying to profit from the great wealth he believed Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn had accumulated over the years. After ordering his arrest and imprisonment, he extracted 2 million *kapakī dīnārs* from him in the form of a fine, thereby precipitating his death. See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:46–48; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarāʾ*, 356–57. He was buried in the building he had built in Herat at the shrine of the leading Sufi of Shāhrukh's time, Shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī.

[30] ʿUqailī, *Āṯār al-vuzarāʾ*, 342.

[31] According to ʿUqailī, "Whoever assumed the office of *vazīr* after him, followed in his footsteps"—see ʿUqailī, *Āṯār al-vuzarāʾ*, 342 (read *tatabbuʿ* for *tabʿiyat*). For a general overview of accounting practices in the medieval Islamic world, see Walther Hinz, "Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter," *Der Islam* 29 (1950): 1–29, 113–41.

[32] See ʿAlī Shīrāzī, *Shams al-siyāq*, MS, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Aya Sofya 3986, fol. 119a. Note that his name was not Sharaf al-Dīn Faẓl, as stated by Hinz, who incorrectly interpreted the first part of the invocation, *faẓẓala Allāhu khāṣṣahu*, as constituting part of his name—see Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen," 314. No further information about him is available.

entitled *Shams al-siyāq* (The "sun" of accountancy script), must have been composed sometime after 831/1428, the year ʿAlī Shīrāzī entered Pīr-Aḥmad's service in Herat.[33]

The contents of the *Shams al-siyāq* covered the following topics in ten chapters: (1) the theory and practice of kingship (*pādshāhī*), (2) royal revenues (*madākhil-i pādshāhī*), (3) the expenditures (*ikhrājāt*) of the ruler and [lawful] sources of revenue (*kafāyat*),[34] (4) accounting (*ḥisāb*), etc., (5) the technical terms used in accounting (*muṣṭalaḥāt-i ḥisāb*) and the method of writing accountancy script (*ṭarīq-i siyāq*), (6) the method of computation using the *abjad* system (*ḥisāb-i jummal*), and basic astronomy, (7) the principles of surveying (*misāḥa*), etc.,[35] (8) basic geometry (*ʿilm-i handasa*), (9) bookkeeping, i.e., the method of posting of entries to a ledger book (*ḥashv va bāriz-i ḥisāb*), and (10) the conclusion. Chapter 5 is the longest and most important (for an excerpt, see fig. 4). Chapter 9 is based on an entry from the account book of a trading partnership (*ortaq*) headed by a merchant from Shiraz named Khvāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who transacted business in the Golden Horde capital of Saray in 1438–40.[36] Interestingly enough, the first three chapters were borrowed directly from the memorandum on finance attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), which was evidently regarded as a model for the theoretical aspects of financial administration.[37] The late Ilkhanid accounting manuals, *Jāmiʿ al-ḥisāb* (1337–38) by ʿImād

[33] See ʿAlī Shīrāzī, *Shams al-siyāq*, fol. 119a. Hinz dated the work to ca. 1441, on the basis of the fact that the date 844 A.H. appears in chap. 9 (fol. 131b)—see Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen," 314. But it must have been completed much earlier, and the date 844 was simply added to the recension of 906/1500, a practice that appears to have been quite common in such works—see Philip Remler, "New Light on Economic History from Ilkhanid Accounting Manuals," *Studia Iranica* 14, no. 2 (1985): 162. The manuscript copy of the *Shams al-siyāq*, which is dated Ṣafar 906/August–September 1500 and which was probably copied in Herat, appears to be unique. For a description, see Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde siyakat yazısı ve tarihi gelişimi* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1996), 22. I am grateful to Victor Ostapchuk for his assistance in securing a microfilm of the manuscript.

[34] For the term *kafāyat* (translated as "lawful exertions"), see M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, "Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 10, no. 3 (1941): 775, 782.

[35] This chapter was omitted in the manuscript.

[36] It was published by Walther Hinz—see Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen," 313–40. It should be used with great caution, however, as due to the extremely conservative nature of such sources, they often simply reproduced figures from earlier works and even fabricate figures in order to serve as illustrations of specific operations—see Remler, "New Light on Economic History," 158–161.

[37] See Minovi and Minorsky, "Ṭūsī on Finance," 756ff.

al-Sarāvī, and *Risāla-i falakiyya* (ca. 1363) by ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā al-Mazandarānī, must also have been consulted by the author, as they were known in the early Timurid period.[38]

As for Pīr-Aḥmad's son Majd al-Dīn, he began his professional career in the chancery of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, where he shared the post of scribe (*munshī*) with the famous Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Munshī.[39] When Sulṭān-Ḥusain came to power in Herat, Majd al-Dīn was serving as the *vazīr* of Sulṭān-Aḥmad's son Muḥammad-Sulṭān (Kichik Mīrzā).[40] When Sulṭān-Ḥusain learned of his administrative abilities, he seconded him into his own administration.[41] Often favourably compared to his father, Majd al-Dīn would remain in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's service, with the exception of several periods of dismissal, until his death in 899/1494.[42] He thus belonged to the class of indigenous Iranian bureaucrats, many of whom appear to have hailed from Khvāf, who had traditionally served the Turko-Mongolian military elites that dominated greater Iran politically.[43] Remarkably, between father and son, this influential Khvāfī bureaucratic family spanned roughly three-quarters of a century, which coincided, practically speaking, with the entire period of Timurid rule in Khorasan.

A Persian Bureaucrat Confronts the Turkic Military Elite

Unlike his father, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad would not remain an apolitical bureaucrat, and his career poignantly illustrates the consequences

[38] For the former work, see Nejat Göyünç, "Das sogenannte *Ğāme ʿo'l-Ḥesāb* des ʿEmād as-Sarāwī: Ein Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens von ca. 1340" (PhD diss., Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen, 1962). For the latter work see Walther Hinz, ed., *Die Resālä-ye falakiyyä des ʿAbdollāh ibn Moḥammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī: Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1952); and Remler, "New Light on Economic History," 157ff. For a mid nineteenth-century handbook compiled by a secretary in the Qajar administration, see Muḥammad Mahdī Furūgh-i Iṣfahānī, *Furūghistān: Dānishnāma-i fann-i istīfā va siyāq, 1258 H.Q.*, ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran, 1378/1999).

[39] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160; and Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 176b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy was the head of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's chancery (*ṣāḥib-dīvān-i inshā'*), and he had also served the Aq Qoyunlu rulers in the same capacity—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:108.

[40] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 400–401.

[41] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160.

[42] For the comparisons with his father, see the introduction to Majd al-Dīn's horoscope in "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 46a–47a. See also Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 32–33.

[43] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:218ff.

of crossing boundaries between the competing Turko-Mongolian and Perso-Islamic ideological spheres. Majd al-Dīn's role in the administration of the Timurid state is central to an understanding of the evolution of the Timurid polity under Sulṭān-Ḥusain. The account of his meteoric rise and equally sensational downfall provided by the Timurid sources yields valuable insights into the struggle between members of the Turkic military elite who constituted the backbone of the patrimonial household establishment, and a professional Persian bureaucrat who sought to undermine their monopoly on power through the curtailment of their privileges and the establishment of a routinized system of tax collection and financial administration.

Majd al-Dīn appears to have served first as comptroller (*mustaufī*) in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's financial bureaucracy.[44] Apparently on the promise that he would rectify the cash flow problems plaguing the finance office and restore fiscal stability, Majd al-Dīn obtained guarantees from Sulṭān-Ḥusain that he would be given a free hand in reforming the system of fiscal administration and tax collection. According to Babur, he promised Sulṭān-Ḥusain that, "Before long, the peasant will prosper, the soldier will be content, and the treasury will be full."[45] In late 876/spring 1472, Sulṭān-Ḥusain appointed him to the office of *parvānachī*, which was responsible for issuing financial orders (*parvāna*, pl. *parvānajāt*), and which ranked among the highest in the Timurid chancery, conferring on its occupant the right to affix his seal on all government documents.[46] The use of seals was widespread in medieval Persian chancery practice, the most important being the great royal seal (*muhr-i buzurg, muhr-i kalān, muhr-i humāyūn*) and the seal of the *parvāna* (*muhr-i parvāna*).[47] Sulṭān-Ḥusain stipulated that Majd al-Dīn alone could

[44] His diploma of appointment, which states that he was given responsibility for important royal affairs, is unfortunately undated. See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 210.

[45] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 176b–177a. For the relationship between peasant and soldier in the traditional Persian conception of the "circle of justice," see chap. 4, pp. 106–7 below.

[46] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160, 4:326. For *parvāna*, see Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 26. In the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, the *parvānachīyān* ranked just below the *amīrs*—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 246. For his diplomas of appointment, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 213, 217.

[47] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 246; Gottfried Herrmann, "Zum persischen Urkundenwesen in der Mongolenzeit: Erlasse von Emiren und Wesiren," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. Denise Aigle (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1997), 325ff.; and Gottfried Herrmann, "Zur Intitulatio timuridischer Urkunden," in *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 1. bis 5. Oktober 1972, in Lübeck: Vorträge*, ed. Wolfgang

present petitions to the court, record all the proceedings, and endorse all decrees.[48] Khvāndamīr describes him as Sulṭān-Ḥusain's "deputy,"[49] and the long notation under his name in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* outlines his wide-ranging powers:

> [He held the office of] *parvāna* and other posts, such as making representations at court on behalf of the subjects; writing responses to all kinds of petitions dealing with matters of state and finance; endorsing every [royal] order and the orders issued by the finance office (*aḥkām va parvānajāt-i dīvānī*); and affixing the royal signature seal (*tauqī'-i sulṭānī*) above [other] seals on the daily financial ledgers (*rūznāmajāt-i dīvānī*) opposite the great seal—in the right margin on [royal] orders, and at the top on orders issued by the finance office.[50]

The authority given to Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad as a "civil" administrator placed him on a par with the *amīr*s who dominated the Timurid administration through the *dīvān-i tovachi* and the *dīvān-i a'lā* (or *dīvān-i māl*). Most significantly, he was named an "insider," or *muqarrab* (the Persian equivalent of the Turkic term *ichki*), which gave him membership in the royal household/guard establishment, a privilege normally reserved for members of the Turkic military elite.[51] The practice was not without precedent in post-Mongol Iran, as attested by the case of the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn.[52] In this connection, Sulṭān-Ḥusain permitted him to genuflect nine times before him in accordance with "Chaghatay" custom (*qā'ida-i Chaghatā'ī*), which was one of the privileges of a *tarkhan*, an individual who enjoyed unrestricted access to the

Voigt, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974), 498–521.

[48] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 401; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160. For the edict issued by Sulṭān-Ḥusain giving Majd al-Dīn authority to respond to all petitions and to rule on all cases of *shar'ī* and customary law, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 211–12. For a royal order, dated 879/1474 and containing the notation *iṭṭala'a 'alaihi* (He has read it) in Majd al-Dīn's own hand, see Mohammad Mokri, "Un *farmân* de Sulṭân Ḥusayn Bâyqarâ recommandant la protection d'une ambassade ottomane en Khorâsân en 879/1474," *Turcica* 5 (1975): 78.

[49] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160, 4:180.

[50] *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 158b.

[51] See Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 435; also Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 33; and "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fol. 47a. For the term *muqarrab* as the Persian equivalent of the Turkish *ichki*, see chap. 1, n. 92 above. The title *muqarrab al-ḥażrat* is not to be confused with Majd al-Dīn's other honorific titles, "the royal trusted one" (*mu'tamad-i khāṣṣ*) and "the one on whom sovereignty relies and to whom the kingdom has been entrusted" (*mu'tamad al-salṭana va mu'taman al-mamlaka*). See Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 405; and Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 213–16.

[52] See Melville, "*Keshig* in Iran," 158.

ruler.[53] He also conferred upon him the robe of honour called *charqab* which, as the historian Ḥasan Rūmlū notes, "was not as a rule given to Tajiks (i.e., Iranians) in those days."[54]

Interpreting the appointment of Majd al-Dīn as an infringement on their prerogatives, the Timurid *amīr*s, headed by Ḥasan-Shaikh Temür, complained to Sulṭān-Ḥusain that it was not customary to appoint a Tajik to manage both the affairs of state and matters pertaining to finance, thereby bypassing the Turkic *amīr*s and members of the household guard who were in personal attendance (*khidmat*) on the ruler.[55] One of Majd al-Dīn's most influential early supporters was Mīr 'Alīshīr Uighur, who, like Majd al-Dīn, was a member of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment. 'Alīshīr argued that members of the *dīvān-i a'lā* need not follow slavishly the practices of the past, but should be "innovative" in promoting experienced professionals to administrative posts.[56] Alīshīr's initial support and promotion of Majd al-Dīn on the grounds of professionalization of the bureaucratic administration would contrast sharply with his later opposition to Majd al-Dīn's centralizing policies.

During his first term in office, Majd al-Dīn reportedly brought order to the administration and restored agricultural activity in Khorasan.[57] Khvāndamīr states that, on account of the deputyship (*niyābat*) of Majd al-Dīn and the amirship (*imārat*) of 'Alīshīr, the state was rejuvenated, and the situation of both the subjects and the military improved.[58] Majd al-Dīn accomplished this by exercising complete control, to the point where no one could bring a matter up without his prior approval.[59] This did not endear him either to the *amīr*s or to the bureaucrats in

[53] [Ḥasan Rūmlū], *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs, Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū* [*Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*], ed. and trans. C. N. Seddon, 2 vols. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931–34), 1:56. For the term *tarkhan*, see chap. 2, n. 131.

[54] Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* 1:56. For the *charqab*, which is often written *chahārqab* in Persian sources, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 3:22–23, s.v. *čarqab*.

[55] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 401. For Amīr Ḥasan-Shaikh Temür, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160–61.

[56] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 402. According to Ḥasan Rūmlū, when Sulṭān-Ḥusain conferred the *charqab* on Majd al-Dīn, 'Alīshīr sent him his own modest cloak as a personal token of honour. In appreciation for 'Alīshīr's support, Majd al-Dīn put it on over the *charqab* and performed the ritual nine genuflections before Sulṭān-Ḥusain—see Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* 1:56. For another account of the episode, see Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgardī (Tehran, 1314/1936), 180.

[57] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 402.

[58] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160.

[59] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 402.

the *dīvān*, and his colleagues, the *vazīr*s Khvāja Qivām al-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī and Khvāja Afżal al-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī, conspired to remove him from office by bringing a charge of embezzlement against him.[60] Their opposition to him was undoubtedly also rooted in professional jealousy, ample evidence for which is provided by the ruined careers of so many Timurid bureaucrats.

Khvāja Niẓām al-Mulk had been appointed *vazīr* in 876/1472, around the same time as Majd al-Dīn,[61] and in his account of him, Khvāndamīr characterized him as an extremely capable administrator.[62] As for Afżal al-Dīn, who was appointed *vazīr* in 878/1473–74, he reportedly had no equal in the "art" of the use of accountancy script and financial comptrollership (*fann-i siyāq va istīfā'*).[63] He had begun his career under Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd and, according to Khvāndamīr, despite his youth, became so proficient that the ruler used to ask him about the state of the accounts and other financial matters directly, without going through the chief *vazīr*.[64]

Pressured by these high professional bureaucrats, Sulṭān-Ḥusain initiated an inquiry into the charges against Majd al-Dīn, after first imprisoning him, as was customary. As a result of a procedural slip on the part of Majd al-Dīn's overzealous accusers when they met in a personal audience with Sulṭān-Ḥusain, he was released without the charge of embezzlement being proven. Khvāndamīr says that Sulṭān-Ḥusain objected to Niẓām al-Mulk and Afżal al-Dīn both questioning Majd al-Dīn at the same time, and Majd al-Dīn, who interpreted this as a sign of favour, grasped the opportunity to leave the hearing. As a token of gratitude for his release, Majd al-Dīn paid 60,000 *kapakī dīnār*s to the treasury in order to balance the accounts. In 883/1478,

[60] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:167.

[61] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:160. He was the son of Maulānā Shihāb al-Dīn Ismā'īl, a judge in the province of Khvāf. For his career, see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 418–32.

[62] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 418. Khvāndamīr gave him low marks for his "spiritual qualities."

[63] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 434; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:167.

[64] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 433–34; Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois* [*Majālis al-nafā'is*], ed. Suiima Ghanieva (Tashkent: Ŭzbekiston SSR Fanlar akademiiasi nashriëti, 1961), 188 (*siyāq ve daftar ve ḥisāb ve żarb ve qismat 'ilmida bī-nażīr dur*); and [ʿAlīshīr Navā'ī], *Majālis al-nafā'is dar tażkira-i shu'arā'-i qarn-i nuhum-i hijrī*, trans. and expanded Sulṭān-Muḥammad Fakhrī Harātī and Ḥakīm Shāh-Muḥammad Qazvīnī, ed. 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat (Tehran, 1323/1945; repr. ed., 1363/1985), 119 (although his name is given incorrectly in this edition as Khvāja Fażlullah).

seven years after he had first been appointed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, he was dismissed from all posts, except for that of *parvānachī*, which he was to share with Amīr Muḥammad-'Alī Ätäkä Töshäkchi.[65] For the next nine years he remained out of office.[66] His name is not even mentioned in the *Āṣār al-vuzarā'*, a biographical work of prominent Timurid *vazīr*s, completed around the time of his dismissal.[67]

During the course of the nine-year period that Majd al-Dīn was out of office, Sulṭān-Ḥusain tried on several occasions to reinstate him, but according to Khvāndamīr, these attempts met with strong opposition from 'Alīshīr.[68] This is corroborated by Babur who states that all the *amīr*s and holders of household appointments were led by 'Alīshīr in their opposition to Majd al-Dīn.[69] In fact, not until 'Alīshīr was forced to leave Herat in 892/1487 to take up the governorship of Astarabad, was Majd al-Dīn reinstated in his former position by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who again handed over to him the conduct of all affairs of state and finance.[70] Clearly, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's ringing endorsement of Majd al-Dīn meant that 'Alīshīr's political standing at court had to suffer. This was the interpretation of Bartol'd, who characterized the years from 1487 to 1494 as "the period of ['Alīshīr's] disgrace and the decline of his influence."[71] Although some scholars disputed Bartol'd's interpretation, support for the contention that 'Alīshīr was temporarily banished from court is provided by Khvāndamīr, who states that Sulṭān-Ḥusain's decision to reinstate Majd al-Dīn came only after "the royal insider" (*muqarrab-i ḥażrat-i sulṭānī*), that is, 'Alīshīr, left for Astarabad after having been dismissed from "service in the royal retinue" (*mulāzamat-i maukib-i khāqānī*).[72] Moreover, when 'Alīshīr came to Herat the following year to ask to be relieved of his post, Sulṭān-Ḥusain refused, forcing him to return to Astarabad for several more months. Only after 'Alīshīr's cousin

[65] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 403–4 (his title is misspelled Būshakchī in the edition); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:167.

[66] The date of his dismissal is based on Khvāndamīr's statement that Majd al-Dīn was reinstated in 892/1487 after being out of office for nine years.

[67] However, since this work is a lightly disguised panegyric of the *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk, for whom it was written, it is unlikely that 'Uqailī would have included his opponent in it.

[68] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 404.

[69] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 177a; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 282.

[70] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 405.

[71] Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 240–48.

[72] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:180. For the views of A. A. Semenov and Hans Robert Roemer, see the summary in Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 240 n. 1.

Ḥaidar spread the rumour (which must have originated with ʿAlīshīr himself) that Sulṭān-Ḥusain intended to poison him, did Sulṭān-Ḥusain finally allow ʿAlīshīr to return to Herat.[73]

The strained relationship between ʿAlīshīr and Majd al-Dīn on the eve of ʿAlīshīr's banishment from the court at Herat may even have been depicted in a painting contemporary with the events (see fig. 5). The manuscript copy of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, dated 891/1486, which Abolala Soudavar opines was commissioned by ʿAlīshīr, portrays an imposing and confidant vizier-like figure, who can only be Majd al-Dīn, in conversation with an attentive Sulṭān-Ḥusain, while ʿAlīshīr himself, depicted leaning on a staff, the usual posture in which he is portrayed in Timurid miniature paintings, observes them from the sidelines. The theme of the painting, which depicts the story in the *Gulistān* about the old wrestler who overwhelms his younger protégé with the one hold he kept to himself and did not teach him, must have been intended as an allegorical representation of the relationship between the older and more experienced ʿAlīshīr and the arrogant and ambitious Majd al-Dīn, and as a warning that the former would ultimately prevail over the latter.[74]

Just as at the time of his initial appointment, Majd al-Dīn's reinstatement was connected with his ability to raise a large sum of money that Sulṭān-Ḥusain urgently needed. This time, the source was to be the *vazīr*s Niẓām al-Mulk and Afżal al-Dīn, whom Majd al-Dīn now accused of regularly embezzling funds themselves from the state treasury.[75] Afżal al-Dīn had the foresight to leave for Astarabad on the pretext of attending to some *dīvān* business, where he joined his mentor, ʿAlīshīr.[76] As for Niẓām al-Mulk, he and his sons were eventually arrested and their property confiscated.[77] Although he was by no means a disinterested observer, ʿAlīshīr did not overstate the case when he wrote that "There

[73] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:183–84; also Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 243 n. 18.

[74] Abolala Soudavar brilliantly recognized the painting's allegorical significance, although he reversed the identifications of Majd al-Dīn and ʿAlīshīr in his interpretation—see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 101–5. Note that, as in fig. 3, ʿAlīshīr always appears to be depicted leaning on a staff and is modestly dressed in comparison with other courtiers.

[75] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:180.

[76] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:181; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 434. After receiving the order from Herat to return to court, Afżal al-Dīn fled to the Aq Qoyunlu court of Sultan Yaʿqūb, from where he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and did not return to Herat until 903/1498—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:183, 4:218.

[77] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:187.

was not a single person who was not adversely affected by [Majd al-Dīn]."[78] However, fearing that the paramount *amīr*s and intimates of the sultan would support Niẓām al-Mulk, Majd al-Dīn reinstated him as *vazīr* on the condition that he pledged never to oppose him again—a pledge Niẓām al-Mulk would soon break.[79]

With ʿAlīshīr and Afżal al-Dīn out of the way, and Niẓām al-Mulk under control for the time being, Majd al-Dīn's power remained unchallenged. According to Khvāndamīr, no *amīr, ṣadr, vazīr*, or member of the sultan's household could bring up a matter of state without his knowledge, and anyone who did "found themselves in deep trouble."[80]

The Centralizing Reforms of Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad

During his second term in office, which lasted only three years (892–95/1487–90), Majd al-Dīn embarked on a plan to institute reforms in the Timurid fisc in order to curtail corruption and systematize and regularize the financial administration. Khvāndamīr states that by conducting a purge of the *dīvān*, Majd al-Dīn "closed the doors of profit" for the *amīr*s and loyal insiders (*muqarrabān*) of the household establishment, while at the same time showing favour to the peasants and artisans by exempting them from the payment of administrative dues (*ikhrājāt*) and other uncanonical taxes (*qalanāt*) and thereby freeing them from the oppression of the tax collectors.[81] Majd al-Dīn's investigation of financial impropriety by *dīvān* officials was ruthlessly thorough. He arrested and interrogated under torture any functionary suspected of having profited from *dīvān* business during the nine years Niẓām al-Mulk and Afżal al-Dīn had been in charge, and confiscated his property. Khvāndamīr estimates that close to 1,000 *tūmān*s (10 million *dīnār*s) were collected in this way from *vazīr*s, tax officials, and others.[82] As a result, most of the clerks in the *dīvān* were reportedly reduced to dire straits, although, according to Majd al-Dīn himself, only one of the eighty persons charged—Khvāja Niʿmatullāh Surkh,

[78] Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois*, 188; and ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, 119.

[79] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:187–88; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 421–22.

[80] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:181; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 405.

[81] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:181.

[82] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406–7; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:181 (who gives the figure of 2,000 *kapakī tūmān*s).

a long-time *vazīr* of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's—was actually brought to justice.[83] But the desired effect was achieved, as bribes and other abuses were dramatically reduced.

At the same time, Majd al-Dīn paid out all the provisions (*ʿulūfāt*) and stipends (*muqarrarīyāt*) owed to the military and members of the household guard (*ichkiyān*).[84] The reason for this appears to have been to regularize the payment of salaries to military and household personnel and thereby to discourage them from enriching themselves at the expense of the state treasury or the subject population.[85] Majd al-Dīn's reforms also targeted the system of land grants with tax immunity, such as the *soyurghal*, the chief beneficiaries of which were members of the amirid elite.[86] It was precisely this type of fiscal control, which was based on the predictability of subvention on the one hand and the regularity of taxation on the other, that constituted the traditional indicators of "justice" in the medieval Perso-Islamic formulation of the circle of justice.[87] As a reward for replenishing the treasury after his purge of the *dīvān*, Sulṭān-Ḥusain presented Majd al-Dīn with a gift of 30,000 *kapakī dīnār*s from the state treasury.[88]

Khvāndamīr explains the strained relations between ʿAlīshīr and Majd al-Dīn in veiled terms, stating that in spite of the many favours ʿAlīshīr had granted him, Majd al-Dīn conducted a policy that ʿAlīshīr did not agree with.[89] ʿAlīshīr had been appointed *amīr* of the *dīvān-i aʿlā* in Shaʿbān 876/January 1472 and, as *muhrdār*, he was keeper of the great seal, which allowed him to authorize expenditures from the

[83] See Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 443–44.

[84] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406. For the term *ʿulūfa*, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 384; and Vladimir Minorsky, "A *Soyūrghāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngir Aq-Qoyunlu (903/1498)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9, no. 4 (1939): 948. For *muqarrarī*, see V. Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration (Circa 1137/1725)* (n.p.: Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1943; repr. ed., 1980), 183.

[85] Apparently, ʿAlīshīr did not receive anything in the way of a regular stipend or remuneration; rather, it appears that he himself periodically made monetary gifts to Sulṭān-Ḥusain. See Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navā'ī," 807.

[86] For the *soyurghal* and other tax immunities, see Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases," 480ff.; and chap. 1, pp. 37–38 above.

[87] See Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406; and Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 176b–177a. Khvāndamīr states that, "In his day, both peasant and soldier were satisfied." Compare Babur's formulation of the same idea above.

[88] See the edict issued on this occasion in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 215–16 (read 30,000 for thirty *dīnār*s!). Unfortunately, the document is undated.

[89] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 404–5; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:188.

state treasury.[90] All indications point to the probability that ʿAlīshīr was embezzling state funds. In Khvāndamīr's words, Majd al-Dīn "closed the doors of profit" to the *amīr*s and members of the royal household (*muqarrabān*), which must have included ʿAlīshīr himself.[91]

There are frequent references in the sources to the fact that ʿAlīshīr possessed great personal wealth. Daulatshāh estimated the value of all the pious endowments he had established in Khorasan from his private property at the huge sum of 500 *kapakī tūmān*s (5 million *kapakī dīnār*s).[92] But the sources of that wealth are not clear. While some of the properties must have been granted to him by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and others may have been inherited from his family, which had been in Timurid service for several generations, ʿAlīshīr's philanthropic and patronage activities placed enormous demands on his personal resources.[93] Bartol'd speculated that ʿAlīshīr's extensive building activity may have contributed to the financial difficulties that the Timurid treasury was experiencing at this time, and that this was the reason for ʿAlīshīr's fall from favour in 892/1487.[94] This appears to have been the case. In fact, ʿAlīshīr's building program was well underway already toward the end of Majd al-Dīn's first term in office. Construction on his Ikhlāṣiyya complex in Herat started soon after 881/1476–77 when he was granted the land for it by Sulṭān-Ḥusain. This major building project, which was completed by 886/1481–82, comprised a *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* ensemble, a mosque, a hospital, a bath, and ʿAlīshīr's personal residence.[95]

[90] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:159–60. The Tehran edition gives the incorrect date of 862. The correct date was established on the basis of the chronogram. See also Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navā'ī," 802. The *muhrdār* (keeper of the seal) was usually a trusted individual, such as an *ichki*, or *muqarrab*—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 246–47.

[91] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406.

[92] See Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 505. Daulatshāh's estimate reflected the situation in 892/1487, i.e., the date of completion of the *Tazkirat al-shuʿarā'*. It is corroborated by the estimate made by Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat, who stated that ʿAlīshīr's daily income from his properties was 18,000 *shāhrukhī*s (i.e., *kapakī dīnār*s). See Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi* 1:159, 2:126.

[93] See Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navā'ī," 800–802.

[94] Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 238–39. Beveridge, too, had questioned the sources of ʿAlīshīr's income, and had inferred from ʿAlīshīr's opposition to Majd al-Dīn that he "took a partial view of the 'rights' of the cultivator." See Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 282 n. 1. See also Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazdâ and Undena Publications, 1987), 87. The views I expressed in my article "Centralizing Reform," 141ff., regarding the reasons for ʿAlīshīr's opposition to Majd al-Dīn, are to be amended.

[95] For a description of the complex, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlāṣiyya Complex of ʿAlī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-

In a larger sense, however, Majd al-Dīn's reforms threatened to undermine the very foundations of the traditional Timurid patrimonial state, which was based on personal notions of service to the ruler and the liberal rewarding of loyal servitors. By channelling all petitions through himself, and by constructing a bureaucratic framework over which he exercised exclusive control, Majd al-Dīn restricted the access of the *amīr*s, insiders, and other members of the household establishment to Sulṭān-Ḥusain. He thereby diminished their political standing and, by the same token, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's legitimacy in their eyes. Clearly, Majd al-Dīn's reforms were altering the structure of relations within the traditional Timurid patrimonial household establishment.

For three years members of the military elite and household establishment plotted against Majd al-Dīn and tried to turn Sulṭān-Ḥusain against him.[96] Their opposition to him was exacerbated by the fact that they were frequent targets of his verbal abuse. Khvāndamīr characterizes Majd al-Dīn as coarse and ill-tempered, and not above using foul language when angered by the most trivial matter. Moreover, according to him, he was hypocritical in his behaviour toward ʿAlīshīr, appearing to be outwardly pleasant, but slandering him behind his back and accusing him of various unseemly acts.[97] By all accounts, he was not an attractive personality, but he was a hard worker who every day attended to government business, after which he would meet with a group of literati and scholars in discussions until late in the evening. His official residence always had a complimentary table set up, and he was known for serving up new dishes at his parties. Perhaps not out of character was his love of practical jokes.[98]

It was not until the unanimous opposition of the *amīr*s to Majd al-Dīn's policies threatened to destabilize the state that Sulṭān-Ḥusain was

Century Herat and Its Endowment," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111, no. 1 (1991): 42–46.

[96] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 408–9.

[97] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 407–8; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:182.

[98] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 407; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:182. On one occasion, he commissioned Sulṭān-Ḥusain's cook Abū al-Malīḥ to concoct forty new dishes for a garden party he hosted outside Herat—see Maria E. Subtelny, "Scenes from the Literary Life of Tīmūrid Herāt," in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger M. Savory and Dionisius A. Agius (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 144–45. For the account of the practical joke he played on the learned chancery scribe ʿAbd al-Vāsiʿ Niẓāmī Bākharzī, see Vāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* 1:523ff.

finally forced in 895/1490 to dismiss him.[99] No small role in mobilizing the *amīr*s against Majd al-Dīn was played by ʿAlīshīr's brother Darvīsh-ʿAlī Kökältash, who was governor of Balkh at the time. Fearing that the decline of his brother's influence would jeopardize his own political position, he orchestrated a revolt against Sulṭān-Ḥusain after allegedly warning him to stop Majd al-Dīn from trying to reduce the power and standing of the *amīr*s.[100] However, on the day scheduled for Majd al-Dīn's dismissal, rather than carrying through on the plan, Sulṭān-Ḥusain instead showed him favour, conferring upon him the *charqab* robe of honour and presenting him with a gift of a 100,000 *kapakī dīnār*s.[101] A few days later, Majd al-Dīn was back at his job, conducting government business from his home.[102]

The *amīr*s interpreted this as an attempt on the part of Sulṭān-Ḥusain to reinstate him, and to prevent this from happening and to ensure Majd al-Dīn's permanent removal from office, they acted through their supporter in the *dīvān*, the self-effacing and accessible Niẓām al-Mulk, who was a great personal friend of ʿAlīshīr's.[103] When they convinced

[99] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 409. See also Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:195, where he states that Sulṭān-Ḥusain dismissed Majd al-Dīn from his post "on account of the coalition of the *amīr*s." Khvāndamīr gives the length of his stay in office after his reinstatement, but does not provide the date of his dismissal—see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 406. According to Shiro Ando, it took place in 1491—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 201 n. 4.

[100] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:188–89. In Khvāndamīr's account of the revolt, Darvīsh-ʿAlī was pardoned by Sulṭān-Ḥusain for his treasonous conduct on account of the witty intercession of a court jester by the name of Khvāja Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad Dihdār, who was one of ʿAlīshīr's closest companions—see [Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī Khvāndamīr], *The Makārim al-akhlāq: A Treatise on ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī by Ghiyāth ad-Dīn b. Humām ad-Dīn Muḥammad "Khvāndmīr,"* fac. ed. T. Gandjeï (n.p.: Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1979), fol. 169a; and Vāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* 1:632. In return for being pardoned, Darvīsh-ʿAlī arranged a lavish entertainment in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's honour at which he afterward gave him all the embroidered tents, silk carpets, Chinese porcelains, and gold and silver vessels that had been used on the occasion as a gift—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:190.

[101] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 409. Bartol'd was of the opinion that it was on the occasion of this second dismissal of Majd al-Dīn by Sulṭān-Ḥusain that ʿAlīshīr presented him with his own overcoat, but that could hardly have been possible in light of the developments described above—see Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 244–45.

[102] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 409.

[103] In order to contrast the attitude of Niẓām al-Mulk toward the *amīr*s with that of Majd al-Dīn, Khvāndamīr makes the point that the former did not even keep a chamberlain or porter in his house, and people with petitions could present them directly to him—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:195; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 423. ʿAlīshīr named Niẓām al-Mulk and his descendants trustees of an endowment he established for the shrine of Khvāja Abū al-Valīd at Āzādān outside Herat—see O'Kane,

Sulṭān-Ḥusain that Majd al-Dīn had amassed a huge fortune for himself during his years in power, he finally changed his mind.[104] When he learned this, Majd al-Dīn went into hiding. In the meantime, Sulṭān-Ḥusain left on campaign for Balkh and Qandahar and, in his absence, Majd al-Dīn prepared to leave the country for the Hijaz. But when his enemies, who were in the royal camp at the time, heard about his plans, they told Sulṭān-Ḥusain that he was absconding with close to a 1,000 *tūmān*s (10 million *dīnār*s) from the treasury.[105]

Anxious to stop Majd al-Dīn from escaping with the money, Sulṭān-Ḥusain sent him letters of conciliation. These had the desired effect, and Majd al-Dīn decided to stay, although he remained in hiding. After Sulṭān-Ḥusain returned victorious from his campaign, Majd al-Dīn made secret overtures to two powerful Barlas *amīr*s—Shujāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Burunduq, who was Sulṭān-Ḥusain's chief *amīr*, and Mubāriz al-Dīn Jahāngīr[106]—and sent them large bribes on the understanding that, if they interceded on his behalf and he was again reinstated in his position, he would return the favour. The two *amīr*s interceded with Sulṭān-Ḥusain on Majd al-Dīn's behalf, and he appeared to accept their recommendation.[107] Still apprehensive, Majd al-Dīn enlisted the aid of the influential Naqshbandī Sufi, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, who also put in a good word for him. Again Sulṭān-Ḥusain appeared swayed and Jāmī reported this to Majd al-Dīn.[108]

Finally reassured, Majd al-Dīn came out of hiding, entered the Jahānārā garden residence and was allowed to approach the throne. But even though he presented Sulṭān-Ḥusain with a gift of 20,000 *kapakī dīnār*s,[109] Majd al-Dīn realized that the ruler was no longer well

Timurid Architecture, 272. Also, Khvāndamīr would later refer to the "perquisites" ʿAlīshīr had granted him and his sons—see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 426.

[104] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 409; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:195.

[105] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 410.

[106] For these *amīr*s, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 202–4.

[107] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 410–11; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:196.

[108] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 411. See also Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:196, where Jāmī tells Sulṭān-Ḥusain that Majd al-Dīn's reappointment was "necessary for the flourishing of the state and the well-being of the peasantry and the army," a standard formulation, as already indicated above. For a letter written by Jāmī in support of Majd al-Dīn, in which he mentions the "clash" between the people and the officials of the *dīvān*, see A. Urunbaev, ed. and trans., *Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz "Al'boma Navoi"* (Tashkent: Fan, 1982), 65, no. 111. For a reference to Majd al-Dīn's having presented Jāmī's *Bahāristān* to the court of Sulṭān-Ḥusain (according to Roemer, in 1487, the year of his reinstatement), see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 129, 198.

[109] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:196.

disposed toward him. Nevertheless, he remained in attendance at court for a few days, during which time a court official informed him that Sulṭān-Ḥusain was planning to give him a robe of honour and restore him to his former position. In preparation for this, he requested the names of some of his close associates so that they too could be honoured in this manner. Majd al-Dīn complied, but when he came to the Jahānārā residence, he was arrested, along with the Barlas *amīr*s Muḥammad Burunduq and Jahāngīr.[110]

A Trial by the Yarghu *Court in Late Timurid Iran*

A few days later Majd al-Dīn was brought to the *dīvān-i aʿlā* for questioning before the Chinggisid court of investigation (*yarghu*).[111] This raises the question why Majd al-Dīn, a Muslim who belonged to the sedentary Iranian (Tajik) population, would have been subject to trial by a court of investigation concerned with transgressions against Turko-Mongolian customary law, rather than by a Sharīʿa court of justice. The answer is that, since he was a *muqarrab*, Majd al-Dīn was regarded as a member of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household guard establishment, and hence he had to be judged according to the Timurid *törä*. Furthermore, if we bear in mind that the *yarghu* was a highly ideological instrument that had been used by the Chinggisid khans to purge political opponents and to punish treasonous behaviour at the highest levels of Mongol society, its deployment in the case of Majd al-Dīn was justified both historically and politically.[112] The detailed account of the proceedings of Majd al-Dīn's trial, recorded by the Timurid historian Khvāndamīr, proves that the *yarghu* was still operative in post-Mongol Iran as late as the end of the fifteenth century, and it provides an unprecedented glimpse into the workings of a Timurid society that was truly in transition.

[110] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 411–12; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:196. The two *amīr*s were imprisoned in the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress. Jahāngīr was soon released and pardoned. After a year in prison, Muḥammad Burunduq was reinstated as chief *amīr*.

[111] The full account occurs only in Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 412ff. See also Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform," 146–49. For the *yarghu*, see chap. 1, p. 24 above.

[112] Compare the Mongol khan Möngkä's use of the *yarghu* to rid himself of his political opponents, in Allsen, "Guard and Government," 510; and Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 35.

Majd al-Dīn was brought to the audience hall in the Jahānārā garden residence for interrogation in heavy chains. Present at the proceedings were Sulṭān-Ḥusain's brother-in-law, Mīrzā Sulṭān-Aḥmad; the paramount *amīr*s Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Khāliq Fīrūzshāh Sanjarī Turkmen,[113] Amīr Aḥmad-i ʿAlī Fārsī Barlas,[114] and Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Valī Beg Nukuz, probably the most powerful Timurid *amīr* at the time;[115] the rest of the *amīr*s, ranking members of state, members of the household/guard establishment (*muqarrabān va ichkiyān*), as well as the chief *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk, and his sons Khvāja Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain and Khvāja Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAmīd al-Mulk.[116] Conspicuously absent was Mīr ʿAlīshīr himself, who preferred not to attend. Since he had always been reluctant to be personally associated with the downfall of his opponents, he entrusted Niẓām al-Mulk to represent his interests at the trial.[117] The only person who spoke up in Majd al-Dīn's defense was Khvāja ʿImād al-Islām, a professional bureaucrat from Khvāf who was apparently related to Majd al-Dīn's late father.[118]

The questioning of Majd al-Dīn focused on the unlimited powers he had arrogated to himself during his tenure in office.[119] Specifically, he was asked why he failed to present to Sulṭān-Ḥusain for his approval any of the 700 financial orders (*parvānajāt*) he issued each day in his name.[120] Majd al-Dīn replied that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had instructed him

[113] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 209. He was an *amīr* in the *dīvān-i aʿlā* (= *dīvān-i māl*).

[114] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 200–201. He too was an *amīr* in the *dīvān-i māl*.

[115] See Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 211–12. He was an *amīr* in both the *dīvān-i tovachi* and the *dīvān-i māl*. He became Sulṭān-Ḥusain's most powerful *amīr* especially toward the end of his reign. According to Ando, he was more influential than Muḥammad Burunduq Barlas, who was the leading *amīr*—see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 212, 231.

[116] The complete list is found only in Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197.

[117] When ʿAlīshīr later orchestrated Niẓām al-Mulk's dismissal, he told Sulṭān-Ḥusain that he did not wish to be regarded as the cause of his downfall and he sought a pretext to mask his involvement in his execution—see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 428.

[118] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 413. For ʿImād al-Islām, see Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:220; Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 432–33; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "ʿEmād-al-Eslām" (by Maria E. Subtelny).

[119] For the full line of questioning, see Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 413–14. Compare Rashīd al-Dīn's understatement about the "subtle questioning" of such courts of investigation, in Allsen, "Guard and Government," 510.

[120] Apparently, not only did Majd al-Dīn not present the petitions he received for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's approval, but he did not even bother to read them. For a complaint registered along these lines, see ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, 61 (which cites satirical verses to this effect by the poet ʿĀlim).

that any order dealing with "the welfare of the state" or with that of soldiers and subjects did not have to be submitted to him for his approval, lest important matters of the people be left unattended. Majd al-Dīn's questioners then asked him to produce the edict that gave him that permission, to which Majd al-Dīn responded by asking who gave them the right to put him in chains in the first place. When they replied that they had done so on the sultan's order, Majd al-Dīn challenged them to produce it.

Realizing that he would not be able to prevail against Majd al-Dīn, Niẓām al-Mulk, who was in charge of the proceedings, ordered a vile functionary by the name of Muḥammad ʿAmrābādī to take down his deposition.[121] Majd al-Dīn must have understood that, in doing so Niẓām al-Mulk was contravening the accepted rules of the *yarghu* court, which, although usually brutal and far from fair, were nevertheless based on the principle that the individual was tried by his peers.[122] But when Majd al-Dīn protested and demanded that a person be assigned to him who was his equal, he was mortally offended by Muḥammad ʿAmrābādī who said that he was in fact superior to Majd al-Dīn because he was freeborn, whereas Majd al-Dīn's mother had been "a pox-ridden slave." Significantly, this insult was delivered in Turkish, not in Persian.[123] Left without recourse, Majd al-Dīn agreed to the charges against him on the condition that he be excused from making his deposition to Muḥammad ʿAmrābādī.

After being forced by the *amīr*s to sign a confession that he had embezzled funds, Majd al-Dīn requested that he be allowed to pay a set fine, thereby hoping to put an end to the matter.[124] Certain that if he were let off so easily he would again be reinstated, the *amīr*s refused on the grounds that they did not have the power to decide such matters on their own and that they first had to submit his confession to Sulṭān-Ḥusain for his decision. Majd al-Dīn was then placed under house arrest

[121] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197, where he is referred to as a functionary (*ʿamaldār*); and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 414, where he is called a standard-bearer (*ʿalamdār*).

[122] On this point, see Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 35.

[123] See Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 414, who records the Turkish phrase, *bir qiz-i matʿūn* (reading *qiz* for *qit*); and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197, where she is referred to simply as a *mamlūka*, or female slave, which corroborates my reading of the misprint in the *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*. For *qiz* meaning a female slave, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 3:569, s.v. *qīz*.

[124] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 414; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197.

in the custody of Amīr Muḥammad-ʿAlī Ätäkä Töshäkchi, his former colleague in the *dīvān*, who was the bailiff (*muḥaṣṣil*) of the court and presumably charged with meting out any punishment that had been decided upon.[125] Judging from his titles *ätäkä* (the Tutor of the prince) and *töshäkchi* (the Throne cushion attendant), Muḥammad-ʿAlī Ätäkä belonged to the Turko-Mongolian elite and was a trusted member of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's personal household establishment.[126]

The *amīr*s then obtained an order from Sulṭān-Ḥusain to confiscate all of Majd al-Dīn's property and to torture him until he confessed. As a result, a very large quantity of gold, jewels, luxury manuscripts, objets d'art, Chinese porcelains, and silk carpets were confiscated from him. In Khvāndamīr's words, "no one could have imagined even a tenth of it." Sulṭān-Ḥusain expressed his disappointment, stating that he had believed Majd al-Dīn when he said that whenever he acquired a precious object, he would immediately present it to the court as a gift (*pīshkash*). He said he now realized that Majd al-Dīn had been hypocritical in his behaviour toward him.[127] The *amīr*s seized this opportunity to suggest that if so much wealth had been confiscated from Majd al-Dīn as a result of mild torture, how many more precious objects "worthy of the royal treasury" could be produced if he were tortured more severely.

[125] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 414–15 (for Būshakchī read Töshäkchi). For a reference to the dreaded functions of the *muḥaṣṣil*, which usually included torture and confiscation, see Faṣīḥ Aḥmad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farrukh, 3 vols. (Tus and Mashhad, 1339–41/1961–63), 3:163.

[126] For *ätäkä*, which can also mean foster-father, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:9. *Töshäk* referred to the felt cushion that rulers of Turko-Mongolian background sat on, and that symbolized the ceremonial importance of felt in nomadic cultures. For the term, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:617–18, s.v. *töšäk*. According to Babur, who calls it "the custom of the Timurid rulers" (*Tīmūriyya salāṭīni dastūri*), all Timurid princes sat on *töshäk*s at formal occasions—see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 34a, 186a–b. The use of the *töshäk* by the Timurids clearly belonged to their *törä*. That it was regarded as "un-Islamic" is suggested by the fact that when Sulṭān-Ḥusain received the sons of the Naqshbandī shaikh ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār at his court in Herat, he chose not to sit on the royal throne cushion (*töshäk-i khāṣṣ*) out of respect for these Muslim divines. See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Maqāmāt-i Jāmī*, 200–201; also R. D. McChesney, "Zamzam Water on a White Felt Carpet: Adapting Mongol Ways in Muslim Central Asia, 1550–1650," in *Religion, Customary Law, and Nomadic Technology*, ed. Michael Gervers and Wayne Schlepp (Toronto: University of Toronto—York University Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 2000), 66–67 (for a fascinating account of the "purification" of the Uzbek khan's felt cushion with water from the well of Zamzam in Mecca). It is interesting to compare the situation in the later Uzbek courts where the functions of bailiff of the *yarghu* were entrusted to the royal cup-bearer (*sāqī*)—see Bartol'd, "Tseremonial," 392, 398.

[127] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 415; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197.

At first, Sulṭān-Ḥusain would not consent, but he eventually acquiesced on condition that Majd al-Dīn's life be spared.

The *amīr*s and *vazīr*s interpreted this as a sign of favour toward Majd al-Dīn, and fearing that Sulṭān-Ḥusain would again reinstate him, they devised another stratagem to force Majd al-Dīn to leave Khorasan once and for all. After torturing him and assuring themselves that there was nothing more to be obtained from him, they told him that if he could come up with a certain sum of money in the next few days to pay the wages of some servitors of the court, they would set him free. Majd al-Dīn agreed, and an order was issued for his release. These unspecified servitors, however, turned out to be a group of Turkish enforcers who would not have hesitated to "collect" the money owed them by force.[128] Since Majd al-Dīn was unable to raise the funds, he escaped, apparently in the company of a group of Franks (i.e., Europeans). The reason for his departure was ostensibly to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, which appears to have become a euphemism for exile or banishment of high-profile political opponents during the Timurid period.[129] Predictably, he was murdered along the way, in Dhū al-Qaʿda 899/August 1494.[130] It is interesting to note that, even after his death, rumours continued to circulate about Majd al-Dīn's enormous wealth, which was supposedly being kept as security by his supporters in the residential quarter named after him in Herat.[131]

Continuing Problems in the Timurid Fisc

Majd al-Dīn's administrative and fiscal reforms were aimed at halting the disintegration of the Timurid fisc and the concomitant weakening

[128] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 416–17; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:197–98. For a reference to a similar group of thugs who are described as "Turks with big sticks," see Minorsky, "Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms," 456.

[129] There are many examples of prominent political figures who "went on the *ḥajj*" in Timurid times, among them Ulugh Beg, who was murdered along the way by order of his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:33–34; and Shāhrukh's *vazīr* Muʿizz al-Dīn Malik-Ḥusain Simnānī, who went on the *ḥajj* in order to escape his rival in the Timurid *dīvān*, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Aḥmad, who wanted him murdered—see Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* 3:223.

[130] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 417; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:198.

[131] One of these allegations was investigated by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Mīrzā, but no money was found—see the document issued by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, dismissing the allegation, in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 219.

of Timurid political authority. Although Majd al-Dīn achieved these objectives during his two terms in office, which altogether totalled ten years, his centralizing policies proved to be unacceptable to the Timurid elite, who interpreted them as a challenge to their political standing and their continued enjoyment of the economic benefits they derived from direct access to Sulṭān-Ḥusain and to the administrative organs of state, particularly the *dīwān-i aʿlā*. They were clearly not prepared to make the sacrifices that a full transition to a centralized, bureaucratic state would necessarily have entailed. The high degree of fiscal decentralization that characterized the Timurid polity from its inception, and that was the direct result of the liberal granting of various types of fiscal immunities, especially *soyurghal*s, to the Timurid *mīrzā*s and members of the amirid class, also militated against such a possibility. Nor was Sulṭān-Ḥusain a powerful enough ruler to force the situation against the will of the military elite on whom he was politically dependent. The entire episode thus ended in the victory of the coalition of *amīr*s, headed by ʿAlīshīr, whose vested interests in maintaining the status quo had been the target of Majd al-Dīn's centralizing reforms.

The fundamental cash-flow problems of the Timurid treasury remained unresolved, however, and the return to the status quo ante after Majd al-Dīn's ouster necessarily signalled a return to those abuses his reforms had set out to rectify. Thus, when the revenues of the central treasury dropped to a dangerous level on account of the fact that Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sons, who were attempting to assert their independence, were not remitting their share of taxes from the provinces, Niẓām al-Mulk was obliged several times during the course of a year or two to impose poll taxes on the inhabitants of the Herat region in order to pay the military and cover other essential administrative expenses.[132] Since this caused widespread discontent, ʿAlīshīr, who by now had come into conflict with Niẓām al-Mulk, his former ally, used the crisis as a pretext to have him dismissed and replaced by Afẓal al-Dīn, who, in Ramaḍān 903/April 1498, returned to Herat.[133] The two then conspired to bring about the execution of their old mutual friend, Niẓām al-Mulk, two

[132] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 428–29.

[133] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:218. See the document issued by Sulṭān-Ḥusain permitting Afẓal al-Dīn to convey the revenues from a *soyurghal* to the endowment of a *madrasa-khānaqāh* complex to which he had earlier donated a large sum of money "by way of thanks" to Sulṭān-Ḥusain (no doubt for letting him return to Herat after Majd al-Dīn's dismissal), in Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 74–75.

months later in Dhū al-Qaʿda 903/June 1498, thus demonstrating once again the expendability of Timurid *vazīr*s.[134]

In early 906/summer 1500, the government experienced yet another fiscal crisis when it was discovered that the treasury was empty. Consequently, Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who at the time was at a safe distance in Mazandaran, ordered his paramount *amīr* Muḥammad Valī Beg, whom he had left in charge of the capital, to raise an extraordinary levy of 100,000 *kapakī dīnār*s from the inhabitants of Herat and its dependencies. Since he was able to raise only half the requisite sum from the population of the countryside, Muḥammad Valī Beg intended to collect the balance from the inhabitants of the city in the form of the hated poll tax. Realizing that this could occasion a popular revolt, ʿAlīshīr contributed the balance of 50,000 *dīnār*s himself, thus literally paying the price for his opposition to Majd al-Dīn's reforms that had been designed to prevent precisely this kind of scenario.[135]

It is noteworthy that similar attempts at centralizing the fiscal administration of the state were undertaken almost contemporaneously in the Turkmen Aq Qoyunlu polity in western Iran. Most dramatic were the reforms instituted during the reign of Yaʿqūb Beg (1478–90) under the determined leadership of his chief qadi, Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿĪsā Sāvajī (d. 896/1491). The timing of the reforms (894–96/1489–91) coincides with the high-point of Majd al-Dīn's period in office from 892/1487 until his dismissal in 895/1490. Qāżī ʿĪsā's reforms, which were couched in terms of a "return to Islam" policy, were meant to normalize taxation and revise the system of *soyurghal* land grants and other tax immunities that were contributing to the disintegration of central government authority. His policies too met with fierce opposition not only from members of the nomadic military elite, who resisted the curtailment of their privileges, but also from members of the religious elite, since these policies also had a negative impact on pious endowments (*auqāf*), whose revenues derived from such instruments of tax immunity.[136] Predictably, the qadi suffered the same fate as his Timurid counterpart, for soon

[134] Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 429–32. See also Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 177a; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 282, where Babur places the responsibility for his death squarely on the shoulders of the *amīr*s and other high-ranking office holders led by ʿAlīshīr. For the popular perception of the cause of his downfall and execution, see Vāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* 2:1205–13.

[135] Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fol. 171b.

[136] For the conveyance of *soyurghal*s and other forms of tax immunity to *vaqf*, see chap. 5, pp. 148–49 below.

after the suspicious death of his Aq Qoyunlu patron, he was put to death by a member of the Turkmen military elite, Ṣūfī Khalīl.[137]

The failure on the part of the Timurid political authorities to stem the tide of decentralization was one of the most important factors contributing to the instability of the Timurid state in both Khorasan and Transoxiana. Short-term solutions, such as the levying of poll taxes and other extraordinary cash payments to support the military and the administration whenever fiscal crises arose, were politically dangerous. They aroused popular discontent, which on a few notable occasions even culminated in uprisings by the inhabitants of Herat, and they drew the disapproval of the religious classes, who railed against the illegal "practices of the foreigners" (*rusūm-i bīgānagān*), thereby questioning the legitimacy of Timurid rule over a Muslim population. More importantly, however, the arbitrary exaction of cash payments from the subject population, often several times in the course of a single year, contributed to economic stagnation and prevented the establishment of a regular flow of revenues to the state.

In short, there was an urgent need to formulate long-term solutions, and the Timurids would soon turn to the traditional sources of revenue on which most complex, pre-industrial societies were based, namely, those derived from taxation on agricultural land and its produce.[138] This is not to say that trade and commercial activity did not play an important role in medieval Islamic societies, but they were largely dependent on the surplus that only an agrarian economy could provide.

[137] See Minorsky, "Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms," 449–62; Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform," 127–29; and Petrushevskii, "Vnutrenniaia politika," 144–52.

[138] See Patricia Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989; repr. ed., 1993), 13ff.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SEARCH FOR LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS: KHORASAN AND THE AGRICULTURAL IMPERATIVE

Stating the Case for Agriculture: Timurid Mirrors for Princes

As a rule, the economic and political importance of agriculture was not appreciated by medieval Islamic dynasts of nomadic Turkic or Turko-Mongolian background, whose conceptions of socio-political organization were fundamentally at variance with those on which the sedentary societies of Iran had been based since ancient times. Raiding and plunder were mainstays of the nomadic economic outlook, and the ruler and his military elite frequently had to be reminded of the role agriculture played in maintaining the stability of the state, and of their responsibilities toward the Tajik peasantry who were the producers of revenue.[1]

The chief means by which the case was made for the importance of agriculture to the stability of the state were the manuals of advice on the theory and practice of government, composed by members of the indigenous Iranian religious and bureaucratic intelligentsia who sought to communicate through them Perso-Islamic concepts of government and social order. Often referred to in the scholarly literature as "mirrors for princes," this genre of works, which provided advice regarding the proper conduct of kings (*siyar al-mulūk*), had a long tradition in Persian culture that dated back to the Sasanian books of advice (*andarz*).[2] Among the classic texts that exerted the greatest influence on the Timurid mirrors were the *Qābūs-nāma* of Kai Kā'ūs (composed ca.

[1] The poet Jāmī, who lived in Timurid Khorasan during the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, tells an anecdote about a Turk who was asked by a Muslim preacher whether he preferred to plunder today or go to paradise tomorrow. When the Turk learned that there was no possibility of plunder and pillage in paradise, he replied that hell was better than such a paradise. See Abdarrakhman Dzhami [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī], *Bakharistan ("Vesennii sad")* [*Bahāristān*], ed. A. Afsakhzod (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), 105–6.

[2] For Sasanian models and their incorporation into the Islamic tradition, see de Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 19ff.; and Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 66ff.

1082), the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk (composed between 1086 and 1092), the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* attributed to Muḥammad Ghazālī (d. 1111), and especially the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (completed in 1235–36).[3]

The fundamental point that these works sought to drive home was that political stability depended upon the ruler's exercise of justice (*ʿadālat*), which in accordance with ancient Persian conceptions was understood not as a philosophical notion or legal abstraction but as the maintenance of equilibrium (*iʿtidāl*) in a hierarchically structured society based on four functionally differentiated classes.[4] The last of these four classes invariably referred to the peasantry, who were engaged in agricultural production. As the chief producers of wealth, the peasantry served to support the army, which was the mainstay of the ruler's political power and the instrument of his punitive capacity (*siyāsat*), the means by which he maintained social order. For the peasantry to maximize its productive potential, it depended on the ruler's "justice" in the key areas of taxation and personal security.[5] Overtaxation often prompted the peasants to flee the land, and political unrest necessarily had a negative impact on agricultural production. The oft-cited maxim "A thousand years of tyranny are better than one day of anarchy" reflected the horror with which medieval people regarded the breakdown of law and order.[6]

[3] See Lambton, "Islamic Mirrors for Princes," 419–42; Lambton, "*Quis custodiet custodes?*" 125–48; and de Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 179–223, 381–412. For the influence of Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, see Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism*, 176; also Christian Jambet, "Idéal du politique et politique idéale selon Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī," in *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī: Philosophe et savant du XIIIe siècle*, ed. N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel (Tehran: Presses Universitaires d'Iran and Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 2000), 31–57.

[4] See A. K. S. Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 91–119.

[5] For the role of agriculture, see A. K. S. Lambton, "Reflections on the Role of Agriculture in Medieval Persia," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. A. L. Udovich (Princeton: Darwin, 1981), 295ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, "Aspects of Agricultural Organisation and Agrarian History in Persia," in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1, Bd. 6, Abschnitt 6, Teil 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 160–62; and Ann K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953; rev. ed., 1969; repr. ed., London: I. B. Tauris, 1991), xxiff.

[6] The frequent allusions in the Timurid agricultural manual, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, to civil strife, weak rulers, and highway robbers attest to the constant anxiety of the peasantry about the possibility of disruptions in the agricultural cycle—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī Haravī, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī (Tehran, 1346/1968), 75.

Religion played an important role in this scheme, as it served to legitimate the ruler's monopoly on punishment (*siyāsat*). Conversely, the ruler was expected to uphold Islamic law, which, in the Islamicized scheme of the mirrors, was identified with the fulcrum of justice. The Sasanian maxim "Kingship and religion are twin brothers" underscored the notion of the co-dependence of religion and kingship, since neither was perceived as being able to survive without the support of the other.[7] Additionally, authors of advice manuals referred to the spiritual benefits that accrued to a ruler who promoted agriculture, citing the Qurʾān and such prophetic Traditions as "This world is a field sown for the Hereafter."[8]

The Sasanian rulers Khusrau Anūshīrvān and Ardashīr I were held up as models of just rulers whose actions were to be emulated, as were those Muslim rulers who were perceived as having followed in their footsteps, including Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and the Seljuq Sultan Sanjar. One of the marks of good kingship that enjoyed special currency in the Iranian tradition was the foundation of new agricultural settlements and the expansion of irrigation networks.[9] In the *Tansar-nāma*, ascribed to the Zoroastrian high priest Tansar, which has survived only in a late medieval recension, the Sasanian king Ardashīr I is praised as a ruler who "made water flow in every desert and established towns and village settlements in a way not achieved in the four thousand years before him."[10] In his *siyar al-mulūk*, Niẓām al-Mulk advises the ruler to contribute to the development of his realm by constructing subterranean irrigation channels (*kārīzhā*) and digging distribution canals (*jūyhā*), thereby rendering villages and agricultural estates (*dīhhā*

[7] For the maxim, see Lambton, "Justice," 103. For the transmission of the idea into Islam, see Shaul Shaked, "From Iran to Islam: Notes on Some Themes in Transmission," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 37–40.

[8] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 25–26. For a discussion, see M. E. Subtelny, "A Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual in Context: The *Irshād al-zirāʿa* in Late Timurid and Early Safavid Khorasan," *Studia Iranica* 22, no. 2 (1993): 199–202. For the same idea expressed in the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, see Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 58. For the *ḥadīth*, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 472.

[9] See Peter Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500*, trans. Steven Sampson (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1993), 27–28.

[10] See M. Boyce, trans., *The Letter of Tansar* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1968), 67.

va mazraʿahā) productive (*ābādan*).[11] This advice is echoed in Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, which explains the longevity of Persian rule by the fact that the ancient Persian kings, epitomized by the Sasanian ruler Khusrau Anūshīrvān, "founded villages, dug irrigation canals (*kārīzhā*), and extracted water from subterranean sources," thereby making their realms prosperous.[12]

The interdependence of the various elements that, in the view of the medieval Persian authors of the mirrors literature, served to ensure the stability of state and society, was encapsulated in the famous maxim of the circle of justice, in which the crucial role played by agriculture was clearly and unequivocally articulated: No kingship without the army, no army without revenues, no revenues without agricultural development, and no agricultural development without the king's justice.[13] The author of the Aq Qoyunlu mirror, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, stated that this maxim represented the essence of everything he had written in his book and if he had been successful in communicating just this one thing to the reader, that would in itself be sufficient.[14]

Significantly, many elaborations of the maxim were often formulated in terms of the metaphor of the garden, the symbol of the intensive irrigated agriculture of Iran. In the anonymous *Naṣāʾiḥ Iskandar* (Counsels of Alexander the Great), for example, which was copied for Shāhrukh's son Baysunghur in 829/1425, the state is depicted metaphorically as a garden cultivated by the peasantry, whose productive potential is dependent on the ruler's justice:

[11] Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan Ṭūsī Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-mulūk (Siyāsat-nāma)*, ed. Hubert Darke (Tehran, 1340/1962), 14; and Hubert Darke, trans., *The Book of Government, or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk, or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 10.

[12] Muḥammad Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī (Tehran, 1351/1972), 99; and F. R. C. Bagley, trans., *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings (Naṣīḥat al-mulūk)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 55.

[13] For variants of the maxim in the classic works of political advice, see [Kai Kāʾūs ibn Iskandar], *The Naṣīḥat-nāma, Known as Qābūs-nāma, of Kai Kāʾūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs b. Washmgīr* [*Qābūs-nāma*], ed. Reuben Levy (London: Luzac, 1951), 125; Kai Kāʾūs ibn Iskandar, *A Mirror for Princes: The Qābūs Nāma*, trans. Reuben Levy (London: Cresset, 1951), 213; Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, 100; and Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel*, 56. For a discussion, see Lambton, "Islamic Mirrors for Princes," 425–35; Linda T. Darling, "'Do Justice, Do Justice, For That Is Paradise': Middle Eastern Advice for Indian Muslim Rulers," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 22, nos. 1–2 (2002): 3–19; and Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, chap. 2.

[14] Jalāl al-Dīn Dauvānī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī, musammā bi-Lavāmiʿ al-ishrāq* [*fī makārim al-akhlāq*], lithog. ed. (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1304/1887), 331.

> The world is a garden for the state (*al-daula*) to master,
> The state is power supported by Islamic tradition (*al-sunna*),
> The law is punishment (*siyāsa*) regulated by the king,
> The king is a shepherd supported by the army (*al-jaish*),
> The army are helpers provided for by revenues (*al-māl*),
> Revenues are provisions gathered by the subjects (*al-raʿiyya*),
> Subjects are slaves maintained through justice (*al-ʿadl*),
> Justice is that on which the well-being of the world depends.[15]

In the Timurid mirror *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, which will be discussed in greater detail below, Kāshifī likens political power to a sapling whose roots must constantly be moistened by the "water" of the ruler's punitive capacity (*siyāsat*) "so that the fruits of peace and security might be produced as a result."[16] For his part, ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī compares the ruler to a gardener (*bāghbān*) who is obliged to tend to his subjects as if they were so many fruit trees if he wishes to reap the benefits of what they produce.[17]

Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī

The first work of advice on governance that was expressly addressed to a Timurid ruler appears to have been the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī* (Counsels for Shāhrukh), which was written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyinī (d. 838/1434–35) for Temür's son and successor Shāhrukh.[18] Referred

[15] *Naṣāʾiḥ Iskandar*, MS, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 4183, fol. 12a. For a discussion of the maxim and its depiction in the manuscript, see Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, 62–63.

[16] Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 123.

[17] Alisher Navoii, *Mukammal asarlar tŭplami*, 20 vols. (Tashkent: Fan, 1987–), 7:123 ("Khairatul-abror"); and Alisher Navoi, *Sochineniia* 3:52–53.

[18] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, MS, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. A.F. 112. For a description, see Gustav Flügel, *Arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1865–67), 3, no. 1858. The work appears to exist in a unique manuscript. For a general discussion of the work, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh and Its Promoters: A Study of the Connection between Ideology and Higher Learning in Timurid Iran," in *Proceedings of the 27th Meeting of Haneda Memorial Hall: Symposium on Central Asia and Iran, August 30, 1993* (Kyoto: Institute of Inner Asian Studies, Kyoto University, [1994]), 18–21; and Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, 64–65. Other early Timurid works of advice include *Yanbūʿ al-asrār* (or *Naṣīḥat-nāma-i Shāhī*) by Ḥusain Khvārazmī, written in 832/1428–29 for Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the son of Shāhrukh's famous *amīr* Shāh-Malik, governor of Khorazm, although it was inspired more by Sufi ideals than by the mirrors genre—see the edition by Mahdī Dirakhshān (Tehran, 1360/1981); *Tuḥfat al-amīr*, also written for Shāh-Malik's son Ibrāhīm by Yūsuf-i Ahl, which has not

to by his contemporaries as an "adviser to kings and sovereigns," al-Qāyinī was a prominent Hanafite jurist, traditionist, and preacher in Timurid Herat.[19] The work, which was composed during the period 813–20/1411–17, represents a veritable encyclopaedia of proper conduct for a Muslim ruler, written from the standpoint of the Islamic religious sciences.[20] It is based on a long list of works, which the author provides in his introduction, on Islamic jurisprudence, compilations of legal opinions, Qurʾān commentaries, prophetic Traditions, Islamic theology (such as the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī), and such classic mirrors for princes as Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, from which it quotes extensively.[21] With its homiletic tone and religious orientation, the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī* resembles in many ways the Ilkhanid advice manual *Minhāj al-wuzarāʾ wa sirāj al-umarāʾ* (The path [of conduct] for *vazīr*s and the lantern [illuminating the way] for *amīr*s), by Aḥmad al-Iṣfahbadhī, which was written in Arabic and dedicated to the *vazīr* Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad, in 729/1329–30.[22]

In an excursus on the class of cultivators (*ahl-i zirāʿat*), al-Qāyinī explains in considerable detail the ways in which a Muslim ruler should demonstrate his justice (*ʿadl*) toward the peasantry. Referring to the circle of justice, he states that "the maintenance of kingship is based on justice and a flourishing treasury which, through [justice], has been filled by a flourishing subject population."[23] Calling the peasantry "the ruler's treasury and army" (*khazīna va sipāh-i pādshāh*), he counsels that a Muslim ruler must guard against those persons who volunteer their

survived—see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 217; and *Anīs al-nās* by Shujāʿ, composed in 830/1426–27 for Shāhrukh's son Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān, and heavily dependent on the *Qābūs-nāma*—see C.-H. de Fouchécour, "'The Good Companion' (*Anīs al-Nās*): A Manual for the Honest Man in Shīrāz in the 9th/15th Century," in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami (Princeton: Zagros, 1998), 42–57.

[19] For al-Qāyinī, see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 217ff.

[20] The date of completion given in Flügel, *Handschriften* 3:289, is incorrect.

[21] For the list, see al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 3b–4a. For the sections on the principles of administration, which are directly based on Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, see al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 132b–162b.

[22] Like the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, it too is in ten chapters and survives in a unique copy. See Louise Marlow, "The *Way of Viziers and the Lamp of Commanders* (*Minhāj al-wuzarāʾ wa sirāj al-umarāʾ*) of Aḥmad al-Iṣfahbadhī and the Literary and Political Culture of Early Fourteenth-Century Iran," in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 171, 174.

[23] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fol. 198a.

services for tax collection, and he must stop the practice whereby the collection of taxes is delegated to one person who then delegates the job to another and so on all the way down the line to the peasantry, who as a result of overtaxation have, in an agriculturally inspired analogy, literally "been pulled out by their roots."[24]

Al-Qāyinī devotes particular attention to the problem of taxation, and his descriptions of such practices as demanding payment of the basic land tax before the harvest and sending tax assessors at arbitrary times throughout the year provide an invaluable glimpse into the difficult conditions of the peasantry during the early Timurid period.[25] He is highly critical of the imposition of uncanonical taxes, which he refers to as *qalanāt*.[26] The *qalan*, which had been introduced into Iran by the Mongols together with the poll tax (*qobchur*), was generally used as a symbol of the extortionate practices associated with Turko-Mongolian rule.[27] Al-Qāyinī states that it is the duty of a Muslim ruler to abolish all such taxes on agricultural land because they represent "heretical innovations" (*bidʿathā*) from the standpoint of Islamic law.[28] Moreover, he observes that the practice of collecting them from lands belonging to pious endowments has contributed to the decline of Islamic institutions.[29]

Although it is difficult to determine whether the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī* had any influence on the formulation of Shāhrukh's policies, the fact that its composition appears to have been inspired by Shāhrukh's alleged abrogation of the Turko-Mongolian *törä* in favour of the Sharīʿa in 813/1411 suggests that al-Qāyinī hoped that it would shape Shāhrukh's conduct in his newly professed role as *pādshāh-i Islām*.[30] Given that the

[24] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 201a–202a.

[25] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 200b–201a.

[26] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 199a–b.

[27] For these taxes, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 3:488–90; Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," 533–34; and Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 148–51.

[28] His calls for the abolition of such "foreign practices" (*rusūm-i bīgānagān*) are reminiscent of the petitions sent by the Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja Aḥrār (d. 1490) to various Timurid rulers and their functionaries—see Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urunbaev, eds. and trans., *The Letters of Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār and His Associates* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49–51; see in particular 108–9, letter no. 24(25).

[29] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fols. 200a–b. Al-Qāyinī's views on the subject of taxation are in keeping with those expressed by Ghazālī in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*—see Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel*, xliii.

[30] For a translation of the passage about Shāhrukh's abrogation of the *törä*, see chap. 1, p. 25 above.

only surviving copy was made expressly for the royal library, the work must have been intended for Shāhrukh's personal use rather than for a general readership.[31] Ibn ʿArabshāh's scepticism notwithstanding, it appears that Shāhrukh took at least some of al-Qāyinī's counsels to heart.

Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī

A Timurid mirror that enjoyed wide circulation was the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* (Muḥsin's ethics) by the popular preacher and polymath Ḥusain b. ʿAlī Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504–5). Composed in Herat 907/1501–2 for the benefit of the Timurid prince Abū al-Muḥsin Mīrzā, it was dedicated to his father, Sulṭān-Ḥusain.[32] Although it dates from the very end of Timurid rule in Khorasan, the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* may be regarded as a *summa* of the medieval Persian genre of advice literature, and as such it provides a synopsis of the views that were held on kingship and rule by the indigenous religious and bureaucratic intelligentsia of Iran during the entire Timurid period. Based on a succinct summary of the key philosophico-ethical concepts in Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* dwells on the ethical qualities that an Islamic ruler should possess, illustrating these by means of anecdotes about pre-Islamic Persian kings, parabolic tales, prophetic Traditions, poetic citations, and sententious maxims. Unlike its immediate predecessor, the ponderous and learned *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Dauvānī, which was composed between 872/1467 and 882/1477 for the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, Kāshifī's *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* offered a highly accessible presentation in an elegant and entertaining style that ensured its favourable reception at the Timurid court, and the work was often lavishly illustrated.[33]

In accordance with the traditional notion of the hierarchical ordering of Persian society, Kāshifī divides the subjects of the kings into four classes, each of whom he compares to one of the four elements: the military, or "people of the sword," who are like fire; the bureaucrats and administrators, or "people of the pen," who are like air; the merchants and artisans, or "people of business affairs," who are compared to water; and the agriculturalists, who are like earth. Carrying the analogy further, he identifies the elements representing the four social classes with the four humours that make up the human constitution.[34] Just as the preponderance of a particular humour creates an imbalance in the bodily temperament (*mizāj-i khulq*), thereby leading to sickness, so too does the domination of one class in society over the others cause the constitution of the body politic (*mizāj-i mulk*) to decline.[35] The necessity for a ruler who would maintain equilibrium among the various classes is vividly underscored by Kāshifī's citation of the prophetic Tradition which states that "without a king, people would devour each other."[36]

Kāshifī focuses on the function of the cultivators (*ahl-i zirāʿat*) in supporting the army, which in turn maintains the political stability of the state:

> If the tax collectors oppress the peasantry, its attitude toward the ruler will turn sour and it will lose interest in agricultural activity. [As a result], the ruler's revenues will decrease, as will the provisions for the army. If the military has no provisions, they will turn away from service, and when an enemy appears there will be few to help. In this way, the kingdom will be lost.[37]

A outstanding feature of Kāshifī's characterization of the economic value of the peasantry is his use of the technical terminology of accounting, which reflects the importance accorded to the financial management of agriculture during the late Timurid period. In contrast to a treasury full of cash, which represents the debits (*kharj*) side of a financial ledger on account of the king's expenditures that soon deplete it, Kāshifī equates the peasantry with the credits (*dakhl*) side, because

[31] The Vienna manuscript contains a frontispiece medallion with an inscription stating that it was copied expressly for the treasury of Shāhrukh.

[32] For the dating of the work and the circumstances of its composition, see Subtelny, "Late Medieval Persian *Summa*," 602–4. For Kāshifī and his literary activity, see Maria E. Subtelny, "Husayn Vaʿiz-i Kashifi: Polymath, Popularizer, and Preserver," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003): 463–66.

[33] See Subtelny, "Late Medieval Persian *Summa*," 604–14.

[34] This concordance between the bodily humours and the four elements, which was based on Galenic concepts, was a commonplace in medieval Islamic medicine.

[35] Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 35–36. See also Lambton, "Justice," 117.

[36] Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 121; see also Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:190 (who cites the Tradition in Arabic). It does not appear to be a canonical *ḥadīth*, but it is cited in a work by the prominent ninth-century Malikite jurist and traditionist Ibn Saḥnūn—see Sebastian Günther, "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Saḥnūn and al-Jāḥiẓ on Pedagogy and Didactics," in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 102.

[37] Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 187. This is a paraphrase of the well-known speech of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan, for which see below.

it continually contributes to the state treasury through its agricultural production.[38]

Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī

It is in the context of the promotion of agriculture as the chief source of revenues that the *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, or Letters of the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn may be understood as the Timurid forgery that they have been demonstrated to be. Alexander Morton, who is the latest scholar to scrutinize the *Mukātabāt* with a view to determining their authenticity, has dated their composition to the reign of Shāhrukh.[39] Morton surmises that the Letters may have been the product of the scribal and bureaucratic class that was concerned with enhancing its political status in the early Timurid state.[40] This is a plausible explanation, but only a partial one. In order for it to achieve this goal, the bureaucratic intelligentsia had not only to reorganize the financial administration of the state, but also to campaign for the development of agriculture as the chief source of state revenues.

This contention would appear to be supported by the content of the Letters themselves. In a letter to one of his sons, the pseudo-Rashīd al-Dīn advises that rulers should maintain three treasuries for their disbursements (*kharj*), including one for currency, one for weapons, and one for food and clothing. In a formulation highly reminiscent of Kāshifī's analogy, the treasury for revenues (*dakhl*) is equated with the peasantry itself, for it is by means of its labour that the other three treasuries are filled.[41] Of particular relevance to the Timurid situation are the letters that describe large irrigation projects.[42]

[38] Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 59; also cited in Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirā'a*, 25.

[39] See A. H. Morton, "The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Īlkhānid Fact or Timurid Fiction?" in Amitai-Preiss and Morgan, *Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, 190–99. His conclusions are supported by the observations of Gottfried Herrmann—see Herrmann, "Zum persischen Urkundenwesen," 329 n. 56.

[40] Morton, "Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn," 199. A similar argument has been made with regard to the second part of the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, traditionally ascribed to al-Ghazālī—see Patricia Crone, "Did al-Ghazālī Write a Mirror for Princes? On the Authorship of *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 189.

[41] Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh Hamadānī, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī' (Lahore, 1367/1947), 119, no. 22.

[42] See Morton, "Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn," 188.

The Timurids seem to have had a special affinity for the Ilkhanids, who two centuries earlier had confronted the same kinds of tensions in the process of their transition to a sedentary state.[43] As the chief architect of Ghazan Khan's reforms in the Ilkhanid state, and as a strong advocate of agricultural development and author of an agricultural manual, Rashīd al-Dīn would have presented the perfect model of a Persian bureaucrat in post-Mongol service.[44] Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khvāfī, who as noted earlier was instrumental in reorganizing the Timurid bureaucratic administration, must have seen his role vis-à-vis Shāhrukh as paralleling Rashīd al-Dīn's vis-à-vis Ghazan Khan. The letters may even have been forged at his request.[45]

Further support for the contention that the Timurids viewed their own situation as mirroring that of the Ilkhanids is to be found in such later Timurid works as Saif al-Dīn 'Uqailī's *Āṯār al-vuzarā'*, a mirror for princes that stresses the importance of the *vazīr* in the administration of the state, which even reproduces the text of several of the Letters.[46] It is also noteworthy that, in the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, Kāshifī quotes in full Ghazan Khan's speech, recorded in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, in

[43] We may also note here the Timurid-sponsored program of copying and illustrating Rashīd al-Dīn's history, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, for which see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 99–100.

[44] For Rashīd al-Dīn's agricultural interests, see A. K. S. Lambton, "The *Āthār wa Aḥyā'* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and His Contribution as an Agronomist, Arboriculturist and Horticulturalist," in Amitai-Preiss and Morgan, *Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, 126–54. For the significance of the reforms, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 55ff.; and Lambton, "Agricultural Organisation," 185–86.

[45] It is perhaps no coincidence that the name of one of Rashīd al-Dīn's sons was also Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn—see Morton, "Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn," 161. In a Timurid context, this would have conveyed the impression that the addressee was the *vazīr* Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khvāfī. One of the Letters is addressed to Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Turka, the grandfather of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Turka, the famous Ḥurūfī of Shāhrukh's time and brother of Ṣa'īn al-Dīn 'Alī Turka Iṣfahānī, the teacher of the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, for whom see Shiro Ando, "Die timuridische Historiographie II: Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī," *Studia Iranica* 24, no. 2 (1995): 240. 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858/1454) had a keen interest in accounting, mathematical computation, and problem solving, and he might have been the author of the "Letters."

[46] See 'Uqailī, *Āṯār al-vuzarā'*, 287–322, which reproduces Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, nos. 4, 5, 10, 21. Composed in 883/1478–79 for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī, *Āṯār al-vuzarā'* was heavily dependent in its formulation of the theory of government on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*.

which the Mongol khan supposedly lectured his military commanders about the value of agriculture and the peasantry to the state.[47]

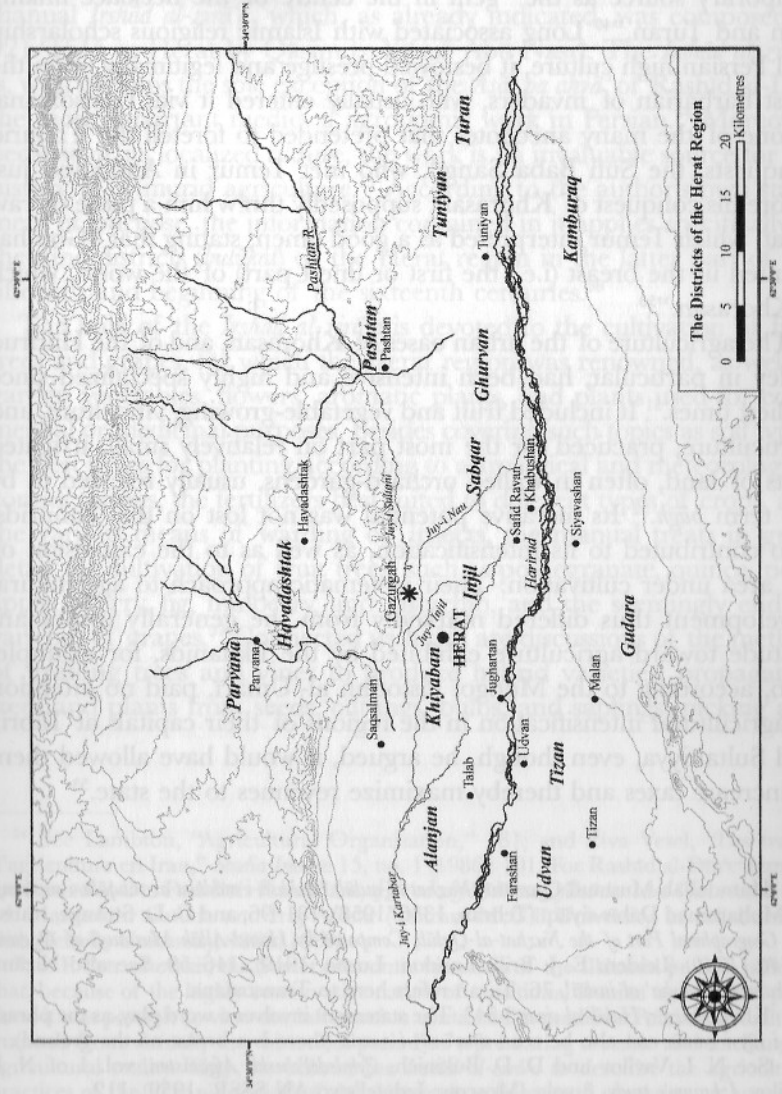
The Timurids espoused the message of the mirrors fairly early on. The Timurid attitude toward agriculture during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain was summed up by Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī in his introduction to the agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirāʿa* (Guidance on agriculture), compiled in Herat in 921/1515, eight years after the collapse of the Timurid state in Khorasan. Dedicated to the first Safavid ruler Shāh Ismāʿīl I, the work was in fact construed as a mirror for princes that focused exclusively on agriculture as the main prerequisite for the establishment of a stable political state. It would appear that Qāsim b. Yūsuf compiled the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* in response to the economic and political chaos that ensued from the depredations of the Qizilbash *amīr*s in Khorasan, as he argues forcefully for the re-establishment of agricultural activity under the aegis of the new Safavid ruler, providing him at the same time with an accurate record of the agricultural practices of the Herat region under Sulṭān-Ḥusain and his agricultural managers.[48]

Khorasan and the Agriculture of the Herat Region

The large eastern Iranian province of Khorasan, with its rich agricultural potential and highly developed urban culture that made it "the California" of the medieval eastern Islamic world, afforded the best

[47] See Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 58–59 (where Abū Saʿīd, the last Ilkhanid ruler, has been substituted for Ghazan Khan). It is also quoted in Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 25 (where Ghazan Khan's brother Muḥammad Ōljeitü Khudābanda is the speaker); see also Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 204. For the original text of the speech, see Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Raushan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1373/1994–95), 2:1443–44; and Nakhjivānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 199–200.

[48] For a discussion of the introduction to the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, its authorship, and the historical context in which it was composed, see Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 205–8; M. E. Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṣ and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture: Further Notes to 'A Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual in Context'," *Studia Iranica* 24, no. 1 (1995): 20ff.; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Eršād al-zerāʿa" (by Maria E. Subtelny); and Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, 65–68. The information contained in the article by Jürgen Jakobi, "Agriculture between Literary Tradition and Firsthand Experience: The *Irshād al-zirāʿa* of Qasim b. Yusuf Abu Nasri Haravi," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 201–8, has now been superseded by the aforementioned studies.



Map 2. The Districts of the Herat Region.

conditions for agricultural development. Located in the fourth clime at the centre of the inhabited world, according to the scheme of the medieval Islamic geographers, Khorasan was referred to by one contemporary source as the "gem in the centre of the necklace linking Iran and Turan."[49] Long associated with Islamic religious scholarship and Persian high culture, it bestowed prestige and legitimacy upon the most barbarian of invaders, who usually entered it via Transoxiana. In one of the many anecdotes that pretended to foretell the Timurid conquests, the Sufi Baba Sangū, who met Temür in Andikhud just before his conquest of Khorasan, supposedly threw him a piece of raw meat, which Temür interpreted as a good omen, stating that "God has granted us the breast (i.e., the first or finest part) of the world, which is Khorasan."[50]

The agriculture of the urban oases of Khorasan, and of the Harirud valley in particular, had been intensive and highly specialized since earliest times.[51] It included fruit and vegetable-growing, viticulture, and horticulture, practiced for the most part on relatively small, irrigated plots of land, often in walled orchard-gardens, usually referred to by the term *bāgh*.[52] Its lucrative potential was not lost on the Timurids, who contributed to its intensification, as well as to the expansion of the area under cultivation. Their systematic approach to agricultural development thus differed markedly from the generally insouciant attitude toward agriculture exhibited by the Ilkhanids, for example, who, according to the Mongol historian al-ʿUmarī, paid no attention to agricultural intensification in the regions of their capitals at Tabriz and Sultaniyya, even though, he argued, it would have allowed them to increase taxes and thereby maximize revenues to the state.[53]

[49] Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb (Bakhsh-i nukhust az maqāla-i suvvum)*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr-siyāqī (Tehran, 1336/1958), 181–96; and G. Le Strange, trans., *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb, Composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1919), 146–59. See also Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 76. Turan refers here to Transoxiana.

[50] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:543. The statement involves a word play, as the phrase *sīna-i rūy-i zamīn* can also be read *sīna'ī rūy-i zamīn* (there is a breast on the ground).

[51] See N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, vol. 1 of N. I. Vavilov, *Izbrannye trudy*, 5 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1959), 112.

[52] Vavilov and Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, 342ff., 354ff. The term *bāgh* denoted an enclosed cultivated area bearing permanant cultures—see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Bāḡ," 393.

[53] See Klaus Lech, ed. and trans., *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-ʿUmarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk, Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 89, 150.

A Timurid agricultural manual: Irshād al-zirāʿa

This intensive, irrigated type of agriculture practiced in the Herat region during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time was described in the agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, which, as already indicated, was composed in 921/1515 in Herat by Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī. The *Irshād al-zirāʿa* is, with perhaps the sole exception of the *Āṯār va aḥyā'* of Rashīd al-Dīn, the most important medieval agronomic work in Persian.[54] Moreover, because of its localized nature, the work is an invaluable source for the history of Timurid agriculture.[55] According to the author's own statement of purpose, the information contained in it applies specifically to the nine districts (*bulūkāt*) of the Herat region in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[56]

The bulk of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* is devoted to the cultivation of fruit trees and grapes, for which the Herat region was renowned, as well as garden vegetables, flowers, aromatic plants, and plants used for commercial or medicinal purposes. Besides covering such topics as soil types, the best times for planting according to astrological and meteorological considerations, the fertilizers best suited to different types of crops, and the various means of warding off insects, the manual treats in great detail the cultivation of fruit trees, such as pomegranate, quince, pear, apple, cherry, fig, mulberry, and pistachio, and the seemingly endless varieties of grapes.[57] Connected with this are discussions of the method of grafting trees and vines to produce hybrid varieties; propagating trees and plants from seeds, cuttings, bulbs, and saplings; picking and

[54] See Lambton, "Agricultural Organisation," 161; and Živa Vesel, "Les traités d'agriculture en Iran," *Studia Iranica* 15, no. 1 (1986): 101. For Rashīd al-Dīn's manual, see Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh Hamadānī, *Āṯār va aḥyā': Matn-i fārsī dar bāra-i fann-kishāvarzī*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda and Īraj Afshār (Tehran: McGill University, in collaboration with Tehran University, 1368/1989).

[55] I. P. Petrushevskii, the Soviet economic historian of the Ilkhanid period, believed that, because of the highly conservative nature of traditional Iranian agricultural practices, it was possible to view the information contained in medieval Persian agricultural manuals from virtually any historical period as representing a stable and unchanging agricultural reality. Thus, he utilized the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* to describe the agricultural practices of the Ilkhanid period of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, an approach that is not only anachronistic but ultimately misleading. See Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 28. Although Petrushevskii believed than Rashīd al-Dīn's *Āṯār va aḥyā'* was lost, he in fact unwittingly made use of it in the form of the Tehran lithog. ed. of 1323/1905.

[56] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 50.

[57] For the varieties of grapes cultivated, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 113–16.

storing fruit; and beekeeping, which was essential for pollination of fruit trees.

The garden vegetables treated in the work include cucumbers, lettuce and spinach, radishes, onions and garlic, beets, and eggplant. Also discussed are the many types of herbs and aromatic plants, as well as plants used for industrial purposes, such as madder, indigo, henna, and hemp. Ornamental trees and bushes (such as plane, poplar, and jasmine) and flowers (particularly the many varieties of rose), and saffron are also well represented. The manual even provides recipes for the preparation of various types of confections and preserves (from fruit, but also from rose petals), and for the preparation of pickled foods and condiments. Less than 10 per cent of the work is devoted to the cultivation of cereal grains (primarily wheat and barley, but also millet and rice) and legumes (beans, lentils, and chick-peas) requiring extensive land use.[58] The last chapter of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, which is devoted to the layout and planting of a formal, architectural garden (called *chahārbāgh*), underscores this bias toward arboriculture, viticulture, and horticulture in the Herat region.[59]

The high productivity of agriculture practiced in the districts of Herat and neighbouring regions is frequently mentioned in the Timurid sources, as well as the fact that the produce was mainly destined for sale in the town. In the first part of the fifteenth century, a Chinese envoy to the Timurid court in Herat, named Ch'en Ch'eng, was impressed by the large number of fruit trees, and he remarked that harvests in the region were particularly abundant.[60] The *Raużāt al-jannāt*, which paints a rosy picture of agricultural prosperity during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign, notes, for example, that in some years the village of Siyāvashān produced 30,000 *kharvār*s of grapes;[61] that the hamlet of Qulbandān annually produced such a huge quantity of watermelons that it supplied

[58] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 79–104.

[59] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, chap. 8, 280–82.

[60] Morris Rossabi, "A Translation of Ch'en Ch'eng's *Hsi-yü Fan-kuo Chih*," *Ming Studies* 17 (Fall 1983): 54–55.

[61] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:83. The Herati *kharvār*, or assload, weighed about 300 kg—see V. Khints [Walther Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery i vesa s perevodom v metricheskuiu sistemu*, trans. Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 43.

all of Khorasan;[62] and that most of the fruit produced in the Herat region ended up in the city of Herat.[63]

Agricultural Expansion and Hydraulic Construction

Agricultural intensification has been linked with dense settlement patterns. As population increases, land use is intensified in the immediate vicinity of densely settled urban centres in order to accommodate the increased need for food.[64] With respect to the Harirud valley, field research has demonstrated that the population density of the areas along the irrigation canals could reach as high as 1,000 per sq km.[65] The valley reminded the Soviet botanist N. I. Vavilov, who worked in Afghanistan during the early decades of the twentieth century, of the most intensively cultivated oases in the Near East—Cairo and Damascus.[66]

Isfizārī describes in some detail the physical expansion of the Herat region from the first half of the fifteenth century, and he frequently alludes to the growth of the town's population.[67] Following him, Khvāndamīr observes that the size of Herat's population had become so large that the area extending from the village of Pāshtān north-east of Herat, to the village of Sāqsalmān in the north-west—a distance of four *farsakhs*—and the area extending from the Dau Birādarān pass due north of the city to the Mālān bridge to the south—a distance of almost two *farsakhs*—had become entirely built up. The area along the Harirud river, from the village of Auba east of Herat, to the village

[62] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:131. For an overview of the agriculturally related contents of this work, see A. A. Semenov, "Nekotorye dannye po èkonomike imperii Sultana Khusein-Mirzy (1469–1506)," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzhikskoi SSR* 4 (1953): 69–82.

[63] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:103.

[64] See Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), 97–98; and Ester Boserup, *Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-term Trends* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 15, 59–60.

[65] Reidar Grønhaug, "Scale as a Variable in Analysis: Fields in Social Organization in Herat, Northwest Afghanistan," in *Scale and Social Organization*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978), 83.

[66] Vavilov and Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, 61. On agricultural intensification, specialization, and exchange in the Near East, see P. von Sivers, "Riverine Realms: Iraq, Egypt and Syria during the Classical Islamic Period, 750–1500/132–905," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 124 (Winter 1983): 14.

[67] Isfizārī, *Raużāt al-jannāt* 1:82.

of Kūsūya west of the city—a distance of thirty *farsakhs*—constituted a continuous cultivated band in which the agricultural wealth of the Herat region was concentrated.[68] In short, by the second half of the fifteenth century, Herat had become an urban agglomeration inextricably linked with its surrounding rural territory, corresponding to the model of the rural-urban continuum developed in studies of the medieval Islamic city.[69]

The population of the Herat region

Given the oblique, contradictory, and exaggerated figures provided by the contemporary sources, determining the population of Herat in the fifteenth century would appear to be an unrealistic task that only serves to justify David Ayalon's advice to scholars some years ago to postpone indefinitely any attempts to estimate population figures for the countries of medieval Islam.[70] Isfizārī, for example, states that the population of Herat was so large that if an army of 320,000 were to enter the town, the increase would scarcely be detected.[71] He estimates that the number of people who died in the town and surrounding suburbs during the plague of 838/1435 was 600,000, and on another occasion 400,000.[72] At the same time, he recorded the observation made by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's nephew, Kichik Mīrzā, who visited Cairo twice on

[68] Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 4:650. This observation was also made in the 1920s—see Vavilov and Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, 61. The *farsakh* (or *farsang*) was equivalent to about six km. See [Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery*, 72; also E. A. Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii srednevekovoi Srednei Azii*, in V. Khints [Walther Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery i vesa s perevodom v metricheskuiu sistemu*, trans. Iu. È. Bregel' (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 120. For these place names, see Terry Allen, *A Catalogue of the Toponyms and Monuments of Timurid Herat* (Cambridge, MA: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachussets Institute of Technology, 1981), 2, 42–43; Krawulsky, *Ḥorāsān* 2:114, 2:103; and maps 1 and 2.

[69] See Jean Aubin, "Éléments pour l'étude des agglomérations urbaines dans l'Iran médiéval," in *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, ed. A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), 68–70; and L. Carl Brown, introduction to *From Madina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern City*, ed. L. Carl Brown (Princeton: Darwin, 1973), 39.

[70] See David Ayalon, "Regarding Population Estimates in the Countries of Medieval Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28 (1985): 18; thus also Jean Aubin, "Chiffres de population urbaine en Iran occidental autour de 1500," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 3 (1986): 37.

[71] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:23–24.

[72] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:94. Compare William H. McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1989), 151.

the occasion of the pilgrimage, that the city—whose population at that time has been estimated to be 200,000[73]—was about the size of the greater Herat region.[74]

The Bavarian prisoner of war Hans Schiltberger, who visited Herat in the early part of the fifteenth century, reported that it contained 300,000 households.[75] Based on an estimate of between four to five and five to six persons per household, this would yield a population of somewhere between 1.35 and 1.8 million, which must have referred to the greater Herat region.[76] These figures are comparable to those reported at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[77] M. E. Masson's estimate of "more than half a million" for the town proper seems unreasonable when compared with estimates for western Iranian towns made by Portuguese and Italian visitors during roughly the same period.[78] More conservative estimates for the population of medieval Herat range from 45,500 to

[73] See André Raymond, "La population du Caire, de Maqrīzī à la *Description de l'Égypte*," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 28 (1975): 214.

[74] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:82 (although he noted that Cairo had a greater number of dependencies). See also Lawrence Goddard Potter, "The Kart Dynasty of Herat: Religion and Politics in Medieval Iran" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992), 215–16.

[75] Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren, 1394–1427*, ed. and trans. Ulrich Schlemmer (Stuttgart: Thienemann, Edition Erdmann, 1983), 126.

[76] For the estimates per household see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 38 (for the thirteenth century); and A. M. Belenitskii, I. B. Bentovich, and O. G. Bol'shakov, *Srednevekovyi gorod Srednei Azii* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 260 (but with qualifications). The Chinese envoy Ch'en Ch'eng reported that the city itself was more than ten *li* square (ca. 3.3 sq. mi.) in 1414–15—see Rossabi, "Ch'en Ch'eng's *Hsi-yü Fan-kuo Chih*," 49. For the calculation of population according to square area and population density, see Belenitskii, Bentovich, and Bol'shakov, *Srednevekovyi gorod*, 256ff.

[77] On these, see I. P. Petrushevskii, "Trud Seifi, kak istochnik po istorii vostochnogo Khorasana," *Trudy Iuzhno-turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii* 5 (1955): 140. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī gives the figure of 444,000 households (ca. 2 million people, based on Petrushevskii's estimate of four to five persons per household) under the Ghurids in the twelfth century; Saif Haravī's figure just before the Mongol massacres was about the same. Petrushevskii himself estimated that the population of Herat, which he considered to be one of the largest cities in the Middle East at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was "at least several hundred thousand." For estimates of the population of other Iranian cities in pre-Mongol times, see Belenitskii, Bentovich, and Bol'shakov, *Srednevekovyi gorod*, 265–66.

[78] M. E. Masson, "K istoricheskoi topografii Gerata XV veka," in *Velikii uzbekskii poèt: Sbornik statei*, ed. M. T. Aibek (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk UzSSR, 1948), 140. See Aubin, "Chiffres de population," 43. Isfahan, for example, had a population of from 80,000 to 100,000 at the end of the fourteenth century and 25,000 at the end of the fifteenth.

60,000 for the city proper; 140,000 to 160,000 for the province (*vilāyat*) of Herat; and 300,000 to 400,000 for the greater Herat region.[79]

Extension of irrigation networks

Unlike western Iran and the Caspian provinces, where dry-farming is possible (such lands being referred to as *daimī*), most of the territory of medieval Khorasan was arid or semi-arid, and had to be irrigated to be agriculturally productive (the lands being referred to as *ābī*).[80] Irrigation technologies varied, depending on the region, and delivered either surface or ground water. In Khorasan, they were of three types: (1) large feeder canals (*nahr* or *jūybār*), cut from one of the major perennial rivers, such as the Harirud, Murghab, Tejen, and Balkhab rivers, which then branched out into networks of smaller distribution channels (*jūy*),[81] (2) subterranean canals (*qanāt* or *kārīz*), dug from underground aquifers and accessed by means of wells that in turn fed distribution channels,[82] and (3) dams or weirs (*band*), constructed of brick or dry stone, sometimes simply crude earthwork barrages built across the course of drainage.[83] *Qanāt*s appear to have played a somewhat lesser role in irrigation in Khorasan than did surface canals, while dams and weirs were of greater significance than in western Iran.[84]

[79] See Potter, "Kart Dynasty," 216. Christensen estimated the population of Herat at more than 100,000—see Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 124. In more recent times (1969), the entire Herat province had a population of about 75,000, and the town itself about 73,000—see Ludwig Adamec, *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, 6 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1972–85), 3:152, 3:160.

[80] See Keith McLachlan, *The Neglected Garden: The Politics and Ecology of Agriculture in Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988), 17–19; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ābyārī" (by B. Spooner), 405; and Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 19.

[81] For these terms, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 116–17.

[82] For these terms, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 116, 123; and Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 210ff. Although both terms occur in the written sources, the term *kārīz* continues to be used more frequently in eastern Iran.

[83] See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ābyārī" (by B. Spooner), 407; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Band" (by X. de Planhol); Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 117; A. K. S. Lambton, "The Qanats of Qum," In *Qanat, Kariz and Khattara: Traditional Water Systems in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Peter Beaumont, Michael Bonine, and Keith McLachlan ([London]: Middle East Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Cambridgeshire: Middle East and North African Studies Press, 1989), 151ff.; and Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 120ff.

[84] See William Murric Clevenger, "Dams in Ḫorāsān: Some Preliminary Observations," *East and West*, n.s., 19, nos. 1–2 (1969): 387–94; Keith McLachlan, "The Kariz in the Herat Basin, Afghanistan," in Beaumont, Bonine, and McLachlan, *Qanat, Kariz and Khattara*, 257; Brian Spooner, "City and River in Iran: Urbanization and Irrigation of the Iranian Plateau," *Iranian Studies* 7, nos. 3–4 (1974): 692; and Parviz Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources en Iran du 7^e^ au 19^e^ siècle* (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1996), 77ff.

In order to expand the area under cultivation in Khorasan it was necessary to construct new irrigation canals and restore those that had fallen into disuse, in order to reclaim dead or fallow lands.[85] While the scarcity of water resources imposed fundamental limits on agricultural production in all of greater Iran, it would appear that these had not yet been reached in Khorasan in the post-Mongol period. Therefore, the Timurids embarked upon a development program designed to expand agricultural production in Khorasan, their core province.[86]

The cutting of irrigation canals and the construction of such irrigation works as brick dams required substantial capital investment, and hence the state or a powerful individual was usually involved at the initial stage.[87] The fact that it was regarded as a laudable action, characteristic of the "good king," must have provided additional motivation for the early Timurids, who were keen to legitimate themselves as Islamic rulers, to engage in the construction or restoration of irrigation works.[88] Even in the area of water distribution, in which local initiative had traditionally been the norm in medieval Iran, a high degree of state direction and control was evident in Timurid Khorasan.[89] Nevertheless, a considerable measure of local cooperation was also necessary in order to ensure the smooth operation of the water distribution system and to mobilize manpower for the seasonal maintenance of irrigation channels.[90] The agriculture practiced in Timurid Khorasan was therefore not of the purely "hydraulic" type described by Karl Wittfogel, which was based

[85] For the general principle, see McLachlan, *Neglected Garden*, 19; and Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 19.

[86] This contradicts the thesis that there was no expansion of extensive methods of subsistence in Khorasan in medieval times, for which see Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 203.

[87] A. K. S. Lambton, "The Qanāts of Yazd," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 2, no. 1 (1992): 25. For the *qanāt* as an expensive undertaking, see Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 122.

[88] See Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 27ff., 196 (for Shāhrukh).

[89] This is also the observation of Jürgen Paul, who refers to the fifteenth century as Herat's "imperial phase," during which water resources were expanded and used to their maximum capacity—see Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 60, 64.

[90] For example, 3,000 men were mobilized locally to clean a canal that watered the properties in Qarshi belonging to the major landowner and leading Naqshbandī figure of late Timurid Samarqand, Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār—see Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 92–93.

solely on large-scale government-managed irrigation works, but rather a much more effective combination of state and private investment and small-scale irrigation farming ("hydroagriculture").[91]

Large irrigation canals were among the building projects that satisfied Temür's taste for the monumental. In 804/1401, he ordered the reconstruction of an old canal from the Aras river in the Caucasian province of Arran (Qarabagh) that he had seen while hunting in the region. Named the Nahr-i Barlas after Temür's Barlas tribe, it was supposedly more than ten *farsakh*s long and so wide that a boat could navigate through it.[92] The Baylaqān canal, which was six *farsakh*s long and which watered the town of Baylaqān and its surrounding region, was also cut from the Aras river in 806/1403 after the town itself, which had been destroyed by the Mongols, was rebuilt by Temür.[93] Other canal construction projects were the Jūy-i Māhīgīr, or Jūy-i Nau, cut from the Ghurband river north of Kabul, and the Nahr-i Bādām, constructed at the mouth of the Jūy-i Nau, also near Kabul, both of which were completed during Temür's Indian campaign.[94] Work on these major hydrological projects was divided up among the *amīr*s and their troops by the *tovachi*s, and completed in an astonishingly short period of time.[95] Although it is not clear how long these canals continued to function, the canals constructed by Temür from the Murghab river did have considerable and lasting significance, especially for the

[91] See Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957; repr. ed., 1959), 3ff. In fact, recent studies of Iran in the early modern and modern periods point to a predominance of private over state investment in irrigation—see Spooner, "City and River in Iran," 695–97; and Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources*, 84. Wittfogel's thesis has been challenged by many scholars over the years on account of the direct causal relationship it argues existed between the control of large-scale irrigation and the development of centralized ("despotic") political institutions. See Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 31, 43; and Pierre Briant, introduction to *Irrigation et drainage dans l'Antiquité: Qanāts et canalisations souterraines en Iran, en Égypte et en Grèce*, ed. Pierre Briant (Paris: Thotm Éditions, 2001), 9.

[92] Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma: Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī mufaṣṣil-i Īrān dar daura-i Timūriyān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī, 2 vols. ([Tehran], 1336/1957), 2:282–83; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:502–3; and Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 165.

[93] Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma* 2:386–87; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:519; and Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 165. For Baylaqān, which corresponded roughly to the town of Qarabagh, see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 228–29.

[94] Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma* 2:31, 2:138; Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 164; and Giiāṣaddīn ʿAlī, *Dnevnik pokhoda Timūra v Indiiu*, trans. A. A. Semenov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1958), 181–82. See also Ismail Aka, "The Agricultural and Commercial Activities of the Timurids in the First Half of the 15th Century," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15, no. 2 (1996), 1:11–12.

[95] Both the Barlas and Baylaqān canals were completed in one month.

oases of Marūchāq and Panjdih. Apparently, Temür ordered each of his *amīr*s and men of state to construct a canal, and in fact most of the twenty canals mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū bear their names (e.g., Nahr-i Ḥasan Jandar, Nahr-i Aqbuqa, Nahr-i ʿAlī-Malik, etc.).[96]

After Temür's death in 1405, his descendants and successors also moved quickly to re-establish agricultural activity in the three key areas of Marv, Herat, and Mashhad. The Marv oasis was redeveloped in 812/1410, when Shāhrukh ordered that the distribution canals fed by the Marv feeder canal, which flowed from the Murghab, be cleaned and reopened, and that the Murghab dam (also known as Sulṭānband) be rebuilt. The reconstructed Marv canal, which measured twenty *gaz* at its widest point and thirty at its deepest, was twelve *farsakh*s long and had twelve main distribution points.[97] Shāhrukh entrusted two of his leading *amīr*s, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlīka Kökältash and Amīr Mūsā, as well as the *dīvān* official Amīr ʿAlī Shaqqānī, with this task, which was completed in a little over a month's time.[98] Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū notes the influx of people to the area and the dramatic growth of villages as soon as the dam was rebuilt and the flow of water re-established.[99] In the first year, 500 pair of oxen were used to farm the region watered by the dam.[100] The redevelopment of Marv apparently reached a high-point during the short reign of the Timurid ruler of Marv, Sanjar (d. 863/1459), Sulṭān-Ḥusain's cousin and father-in-law, who followed in the footsteps of his Seljuq namesake and became known as the builder of "new" Marv.[101]

[96] Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:32, 2:30; and Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia Turkestana*, 150–51.

[97] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 94–94; Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* 3:196, 3:183 (where the same account is also found under the year 810); and Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:60–62, 2:46–48. For the *gaz*, see chap. 5, n. 94 below. The dam apparently dated back to pre-Islamic times—see Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 41 n. 41; and Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia Turkestana*, 151. For the Murghab and the Marv oasis, see Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 35–46.

[98] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 95; and Aka, "Agricultural and Commercial Activities," 12. Construction work was started in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda and completed by the Feast of the Sacrifice, i.e., 10 Dhū al-Ḥijja of the same year. For ʿAlīka Kökältash and ʿAlī Shaqqānī, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 145ff.

[99] Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:60, 2:47. Although, it appears that the area of settlement and cultivation had actually shifted to the south of old Marv—see Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 192.

[100] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 95.

[101] See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:173.

The most important agricultural region was that surrounding the capital city of Herat, and Shāhrukh is credited with having restored it after the economic dislocation brought about by the Timurid conquests.[102] The Herat region naturally received the greatest attention in terms of the construction of irrigation works, and scattered references in the sources confirm Shāhrukh's policy of cleaning and restoring canals in various districts. The Fatḥābād canal, for example, which watered the district of Udvān-Tīzān, was reopened by Shāhrukh's *vazīr* Khvāja Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Sālār Simnānī in 809/1406–7.[103] Other politically sensitive or contested areas, such as Sistan, did not, however, share the same happy fate. In an expedition against the Malik of Sistan in 811/1408, Shāhrukh destroyed three dams on the Helmand river that were vital to Sistan's irrigation system, and devastated this region, which had formerly been known as a breadbasket, thus giving rise to widespread famine.[104] Parts of Sistan had still not recovered by the early 1440s, and others never would.[105]

Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd receives recognition in the sources for constructing the Jūy-i Sulṭānī (Royal canal) from the Pashtan river under the supervision of his *vazīr* Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus Simnānī in 873/1468–69. Nearly 200 labourers and excavators were called up for a period of two years to complete this undertaking, which resulted in the reclamation of dead lands (*mavāt*) to the north and northeast of the city, and which dramatically increased the amount of arable land available, particularly

[102] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:650.

[103] Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* 3:173.

[104] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 75; and Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* 3:187, 3:182 (where he also records the event under the year 810). See also Barbara Finster, "Sīstān zur Zeit tīmūridischer Herrschaft," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.s., 9 (1976): 211–12; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542–3)* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda in association with Bibliotheca Persica, 1994), 455–56; and Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 233ff.

[105] Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī* 3:182 (845/1441–42 being the last year recorded by the author). Shāhrukh's restoration of some canals and his destruction of others in politically sensitive areas mirrored the policies of the Kartid rulers of Herat. When he sent a punitive expedition to Nishapur against the Sarbadarid leader ʿAlī Muʾayyad, the Kartid king Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-ʿAlī (1370–81), whose predecessor had done so much for regulating water distribution in the Herat region, devastated the area, ruining irrigation systems and felling hundred-year old trees—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:388; and Potter, "Kart Dynasty," 73. For the agriculture of Sistan, see McLachlan, *Neglected Garden*, 15. In the opinion of Christensen, the destruction wrought by the early Timurids was not as decisive a factor in Sistan's decline as was the plague pandemic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—see Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 240–42.

in the vicinity of the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh.[106] When Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd was presented with a vessel of water from the newly dug canal by a courier just as he was leaving on campaign against Iraq, he reportedly said that the construction of the canal was worth more to him than the conquest of Iraq, because it meant that the entire area to the north of Herat could now be cultivated.[107] In fact, according to Isfizārī:

> The entire plain and [area around] the foot of [Zinjīrgāh] mountain, from the environs of Gāzurgāh[108] to the Māhīyān spring,[109] which is almost one *farsakh*, nay, from the mouth of the Pashtan [river] all the way to the village of Sāqsalmān,[110] which is six *farsakh*s, were turned into gardens, meadows, enclosures, and flower gardens.[111]

Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus Simnānī, who, as noted earlier, was renowned for the attention he paid to agriculture, reportedly did more planting in Khorasan than any other *vazīr* in any region.[112] Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd also continued the redevelopment of the Mashhad region, which had been begun by Shāhrukh, by constructing the Gulistān dam on a branch of the Kashaf river above Mashhad.[113]

Building on the foundations laid by his predecessors Shāhrukh and Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, Sulṭān-Ḥusain continued to expand the irrigation network in the Marv and Herat regions, thereby increasing the area under cultivation. As a result of his efforts, according to Isfizārī, a continuous belt of cultivation was created along the entire stretch of

[106] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1342–43; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:85; Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarāʾ*, 385–87; and Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 171. For the legal status of dead lands, see Nicolas Aghnides, *Islamic Theories of Finance. With an Introduction to Islamic Law and a Bibliography* (New York, 1916; repr. ed., Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2005), 500–505; and Ken'ichi Isogai, "On a *Iḥyāʾ al-mawāt* Document from the Early 17th Century Bukhārā," *Shirin* (Kyoto) 82, no. 2 (1999): 313–14.

[107] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1344; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarāʾ*, 386.

[108] Gāzurgāh is located on the southern flank of this mountain, which is part of a larger chain that extends from east to west and marks the limits of the Herat oasis—see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Gāzorgāh, i. Geography" (by Maria E. Subtelny).

[109] See Allen, *Catalogue*, 86, no. 392.

[110] In the district of Khiyābān—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:26, 2:126.

[111] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:85. For a description of the course of the Pashtan river and the Jūy-i Sulṭānī canal, see Allen, *Catalogue*, 2, 20–21.

[112] 7,000 *kharvār*s of seed grain annually—Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarāʾ*, 385.

[113] See Clevenger, "Dams in Ḫorāsān," 391, figs. 12–16 (for photographs of the remains of the dam). For the hydrology of the Mashhad region, see D. J. Flower, "Water Use in North-East Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 1, *The Land of Iran*, ed. W. B. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 599–610.

the Harirud valley, as already mentioned above,[114] and also along the Murghab river, extending from Sarakhs to Marv:

> All the unirrigated and dead lands (*mavāt*) that were in the deserts and plains were reclaimed as a result of the construction of feeder canals (*anhār*) and subterranean irrigation channels (*qanavāt*). The entire area from the line of the Murghab River [extending all the way] to Marv-i Shāhijān (i.e., Marv),[115] a distance of almost thirty *farsakhs*, which was uncultivated, and from Sarakhs to Marv, another twenty-five *farsakhs*, was cultivated during his reign to the point where it formed a single [agricultural] continuum.[116]

His development of the irrigation system in the Balkh region of Khorasan, which was based on the Hazhdah Nahr network of eighteen canals fed by the Balkh river, is of special importance for our topic and will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6. The influential late Timurid writer, Ḥusain Vāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī, stated that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had "transformed the expanse of Khorasan into a model of the heavenly gardens of paradise."[117]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's Agricultural Interests: The Timurid Garden

No Timurid ruler appears to have been more interested in agriculture than Sulṭān-Ḥusain. Western scholarship is best acquainted with him on account of his extensive patronage of the arts and culture at his court at Herat, which came to epitomize what Marshall Hodgson termed "the military patronage state," but which might perhaps more appropriately be labelled the "agrarian patronage state." His thirty-seven-year long reign, which represented the culmination of Timurid hegemony in Khorasan, afforded the agriculture of the region a relatively long and

[114] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:82.

[115] For the name Marv-i Shāhijān, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:46.

[116] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:374–75. Bartol'd considered this an overstatement on Isfizārī's part, arguing that there had never been an uninterrupted zone of cultivation along the Murghab on account of the high sandstone cliffs that in some places went all the way down to the river—see Bartol'd, *K istorii oroshenïia Turkestana*, 152; Bartol'd, *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor*, 65; and Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 39, 41. But Isfizārī seems to be referring to the Murghab only generally, to demarcate the extent of the area under development, and not to the land along its banks.

[117] See Ḥusain b. ʿAlī Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī, *Makhzan al-inshāʾ*, MS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds persan 73, fol. 4b.

stable period in which to realize its full potential.[118] Two-thirds of the way into Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign, Isfizārī pointed out that, "thanks to the benefits of his auspicious rule, it has been twenty-six years now... that the kingdom of Khorasan has been protected from famine, want, plague, and political upheaval."[119]

Contemporary writers acknowledged that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had raised the agricultural development of Khorasan, and the Herat region in particular, to unprecedented heights.[120] Breaking with established tradition, Isfizārī, for example, mentions as notable accomplishments of his reign "the [many] varieties of fruit, the unusual aromatic plants... and the [many] types of crops that were sown."[121] Khvāndamīr marvels at the fact that Sulṭān-Ḥusain was in the habit of inspecting trees and plants himself, while Qāsim b. Yūsuf even states that he instructed gardeners how to rid the plane trees of worms in the royal Jahānārā garden residence.[122] In this respect, Sulṭān-Ḥusain may be compared with the thirteenth-century Rasulid ruler of Yemen, al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, who was also of Turkic (Turkmen) extraction and whose agricultural concerns found expression in the composition of an almanac, as well as with the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn, who also authored an agricultural manual.[123]

According to the historian Isfizārī, the population of Herat followed Sulṭān-Ḥusain's lead and became so preoccupied with agriculture that, "there was not a spot left in the grasslands and stony regions [of the Herat region] that was not turned into arable lands and gardens."[124] In his characteristically bombastic style, the Timurid literary historian and social critic Daulatshāh wrote that in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, "Farming and agriculture have reached such a [high] level that Saturn who sits up in

[118] This point was made by nineteenth-century writers on Herat who noted that, under the proper political conditions, "there would be no bounds" to the productivity of the region. See G. B. Malleson, *Herat: The Granary and Garden of Central Asia* (London: W. H. Allen, 1880), 102.

[119] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:312. Isfizārī's figure of twenty-six years refers to the period from Sulṭān-Ḥusain's accession to the throne in 873/1469 until the completion of his work in 899/1493–94.

[120] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:650; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:374–75; and Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 204.

[121] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:23.

[122] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:111; and Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 198.

[123] See Daniel Martin Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 3, 156ff.; for the reference to Rashīd al-Dīn's agricultural manual, see n. 54 above.

[124] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:374.

the seventh heaven is jealous of the peasants on the ground, and out of envy for their fields, the market for Virgo's harvest has collapsed."[125]

A crucial factor in the trend toward agricultural development was the involvement of the Timurid military and administrative elite.[126] It is also an indicator of the degree to which the Turko-Mongolian tribal elite had become acculturated and accepted the values of Iranian sedentary culture. In his introduction to the *Rauẓāt al-jannāt*, Isfizārī praises the Timurid military commanders for their role in developing the Herat region.[127] Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, who was known for his philanthropic activities, stated in his apologia that it was at Sulṭān-Ḥusain's insistence that he himself took up agriculture, from which he acquired great wealth.[128] In his *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, which was devoted to a characterization of the various classes and groups in contemporary Timurid society, he praised the farmer (*dihqān*) for making possible the prosperity of the world. He must have had the peasant of the Harirud valley in mind when he wrote that "his garden (*bāgh*) is a model of paradise; his place of planting (*fālīz*) is food for the soul; every one of his trees is like the blue-green vault of heaven, and its fruits are like stars in it."[129] In a separate chapter in praise of Khorasan and Herat in his poem *Ḥairat al-abrār*, he hyperbolically stated that the belt of arable land (*savād*) surrounding Herat had become so large that a hundred Samarqands and Cairos, regarded as two of the richest irrigated oases in the Islamic world at the time, could be contained within its boundaries.[130]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's interest in agriculture found a particular focus in the garden, which may be viewed as having represented the distillation of the intensive, irrigated agriculture of the Herat region. The Timurids already had a long tradition of garden construction by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time.[131] The monumental gardens (*bāghs*) of Temür are well known

[125] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 540. The allusion is to the planet Saturn, who was believed to occupy the highest sphere, while Virgo (*Sunbula*) was traditionally connected with fertility, agricultural land, and harvests.

[126] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:650.

[127] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:17.

[128] See Subtelny, "*Vaqfiya* of Mīr ʿAlī Šīr," 265.

[129] Alisher Navoi, *Vozliublennyi serdets*, 46–47.

[130] Alisher Navoii, *Mukammal asarlar tūplami* 7:312–13 ("Khairatul-abror"). The work was completed in 888/1483.

[131] See Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṣ," 38; and Maria Eva Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*: The Evidence from a Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 116ff.

from descriptions in the early Timurid historical sources, as well as from the account of his visit to Samarqand by the Spanish ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo.[132] Formal gardens were laid out in Herat and Mashhad by Shāhrukh.[133] Other Timurid princes, such as Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān (outside Balkh) and ʿAlāʾ al-Daula (in Herat),[134] and such Timurid *amīrs* as Mazīd Arghun (outside Balkh), Ḥāfiẓ Beg (outside Andijan), Khusrau-Shāh (outside Qunduz), Darvīsh-Muḥammad Tarkhan (in Samarqand), and ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, also constructed pleasure gardens.[135] The most important of all the Timurid gardens was the garden-residence named Bāgh-i Zāghān (Ravens' garden) in Herat, which after Temür's time became the royal seat and symbol of Timurid sovereignty.[136] In fact, the only Timurid who did not construct a garden was Abū al-Qāsim Babur, and when he was urged to do so by his courtiers, he allegedly replied that he was actually thinking of selling either the Bāgh-i Zāghān or the Bāgh-i Safīd, because in his opinion, one garden was sufficient for him in Herat.[137]

Despite the existence of so many gardens in the environs of Herat, Sulṭān-Ḥusain nevertheless started work on a major garden project immediately after coming to power in Herat in 873/1469. Called

[132] See [Ruy González de] Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange (London, 1928; repr. ed., London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 226–36. See also Lisa Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 137–47; and Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 249–68. Best known was the Bāgh-i Dilgushāy (Garden of the heart's delight), located in the Kān-i Gil meadow outside Samarqand.

[133] The Bāgh-i Safīd was constructed in the northeastern part of Herat in 813/1410—see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 111; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:582; also Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 167. A *chāharbāgh* was constructed east of Mashhad in 821/1418—see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 214.

[134] For Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān's, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:294; for ʿAlāʾ al-Daula's (called Bāgh-i Naẓargāh), see Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 168.

[135] For Mazīd Arghun's, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:190; for Ḥāfiẓ Beg's, which is referred to as "a rose garden of Iram," see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:265; for Khusrau-Shāh's, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:193; for Darvīsh-Muḥammad Tarkhan's, which Babur deemed the finest garden in that city, see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 47b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 80; for ʿAlīshīr's *chahārbāghs*, see Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 191.

[136] Isfizārī calls it "the nest of the royal falcons [soaring] in the air of the sultanate and the caliphate"—Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:351. It also housed the Timurid treasury, which, at the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's takeover of Herat from Yādgār-Muḥammad Mīrzā, contained precious gems, gold and silver vessels, embroidered saddles, precious books, porcelain wares, etc. See Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:366.

[137] Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 170.

the Bāgh-i Jahānārā (World-adorning garden), it was laid out to the northeast of the city, near Gāzurgāh, and measured 440 *jarībs* (approximately 275 acres).[138] Work on it continued throughout his reign, and the costs of construction were borne by state and provincial taxes.[139] It contained a magnificent palace called Qaṣr-i Dilgushāy (Palace of the heart's delight), and it soon eclipsed the Bāgh-i Zāghān as the official Timurid garden residence.[140]

The Jahānārā garden appears to have had elevated terraces, and it contained a central pool, a pavilion called Chahār Kūshk, and plantings consisting mainly of ornamental and fruit trees.[141] Only the archaeological remains of it have survived, but something of its ambience has been preserved in Mughal miniature paintings depicting Babur's visit to it in 912/1506, right after Sulṭān-Ḥusain's death, when he was hosted there by his Timurid cousins, Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Mīrzā.[142]

Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ: Agronomist and Landscape Architect

It is a telling indication of the importance accorded to agricultural science, arboriculture, and horticulture during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time that the Timurid sources provide considerable information about the professionals responsible for overseeing the development and management of the agricultural region of Herat. With the exception perhaps

[138] For a description, see Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1373–75; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:317; Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk*, 173–74; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:136 (according to Khvāndamīr, it was originally called Bāgh-i Murād). For the size of the *jarīb* at this time, see chap. 5, p. 169 below.

[139] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:317–18. According to Khvāndamīr, it took twenty years to complete, although he states that, at the time of writing (903/1486) which was twenty-eight years from the start of work (i.e., in 875), it was still not finished—see Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk*, 173–74.

[140] For the royal edict announcing completion of the Qaṣr-i Dilgushāy, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 293–94; also Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk*, 173–74.

[141] For references to it, see Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:317–19; Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 293–94; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:196.

[142] See Warwick Ball, "The Remains of a Monumental Timurid Garden outside Herat," *East and West*, n.s., 31, nos. 1–4 (1981): 79–82. For Babur's description of it, see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 190b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 304. For a late sixteenth-century depiction of Babur being entertained in it by Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar-Ḥusain, see Khamid Sulaimon, *Bobirnoma rasmlari/Miniatiury k Babur-name/Miniatures of Babur-nama* (Tashkent: Fan, 1970), plate 33 (*Babur-nāma*, MS, British Library, Or. 3714, fol. 252b).

of the Ilkhanid period, thanks largely to the evidence preserved in the deed of endowment of the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn, no earlier period of medieval Iranian or Central Asian history yields comparable data about the identity and functions of agronomists, gardeners, and hydrologists, who are customarily passed over in the medieval Persian historical and biographical literature. For this reason, the details that may be gleaned from the sources pertaining to the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain about agricultural specialists are invaluable for our understanding of the role of the Timurids in the development of agriculture and in the organization of agricultural activity in medieval Khorasan.

From the introduction to the Timurid agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, it is possible to ascertain that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had in his employ a chief agronomist, gardener, and landscape architect (to use a modern term) by the name of Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, who was better known as Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ.[143] According to the author of the manual, Qāsim b. Yūsuf, who appears to have been his assistant, Mīrak was extremely knowledgeable in the sciences of agronomy (*ʿulūm-i zirāʿat va ʿimārat*) and hydrological management (*mīrābī*), having inherited his expertise from family members who had served previous Timurid rulers in the same capacity.[144] The generational transmission of this type of specialized knowledge was a standard feature of professional and artisanal life in medieval Islamic societies.[145] As it turns out, Mīrak, who was born in Herat ca. 881/1476–77, was the son of Sayyid Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad Bāghbān, whose sobriquet, *bāghbān* (the Gardener), provides an indication of his profession.[146] His father, who belonged to a prominent landowning family of Khorasan that claimed sayyid origins, was known to have constructed and endowed a *madrasa-khānaqāh* complex just outside one of the city gates of Herat, which also appears to have contained his mausoleum.[147] Although of

[143] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 45; and Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, 38–39, 114–17.

[144] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 46; Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 35; and Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 176.

[145] On this point, with particular reference to the *mīrāb*, see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 222.

[146] The more familiar form of his name, Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ, clearly indicates his filiation. For Mīrak's identity and a reconstructed chronology of his career and family history, see Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 21–31; and Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*," 115 (corrected summary).

[147] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:379, 4:507; Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṯir al-mulūk*, 176; and Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī Khvāndamīr, *Khātima-i Khulāṣat*

Persian origin, Mīrak was a high-ranking member of the Timurid military elite, and he apparently belonged to the circle of associates of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, who, it will be recalled, was an *ichki* in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment.[148]

It is therefore consistent with his professional standing and expertise that Mīrak and his assistants (*khuddām*) should have served Qāsim b. Yūsuf as authorities on the agricultural practices of the Herat region in the course of his composition of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*.[149] Qāsim b. Yūsuf describes a garden that Mīrak constructed in the Ālanjān district of Herat, and he enumerates the particular varieties of grapes that were cultivated in it. On several occasions he explains certain agricultural techniques connected with grafting and the propagation of grapevines that had been invented by Mīrak and demonstrated to him by his assistants.[150] The many gardens constructed by Mīrak and his workmen in the Herat region must also have afforded the possibility of experimenting with new plants and plant species, which already appears to have been the case during the period of Shāhrukh.[151]

Mīrak's duties also included the construction of royal gardens, the designs for which, according to Qāsim b. Yūsuf, were often conceived by Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself.[152] The last chapter of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, entitled "On the planting of trees, flowers, and aromatic plants in [proper] relation to each other in a *chahārbāgh*, according to [the symmetrical principles of] landscape architecture (*bi-siyāq-i bāghbānī*)," contains a description of the layout of the *chahārbāgh*, the quadripartite architectural

al-akhbār, in Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk, bi-ẓamīma-i Khātima-i Khulāṣat al-akhbār va Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddiṯ (Tehran, 1372/1994), 224. See the document in which Mīrak and his brother are confirmed as trustees of the endowment after their father's death, in Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 66–68.

[148] In such contexts he is usually referred to as Amīr Sulṭān-Maḥmūd. For references to Mīrak under his various names in sources other than the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, see Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fols. 155a–b; Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:379, 4:532, 4:536; and Ḥasan Niṣārī Bukhārī, *Muẓakkir-i aḥbāb*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Fażlullāh (Hyderabad, 1389/1969), 37–38, 283–86.

[149] Qāsim b. Yūsuf states that he derived his information from his own limited first-hand experience, but especially from Mīrak and his assistants. See Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 174–75.

[150] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 113, 109, 120, 220, 226.

[151] On the role of gardens in the dissemination of new plants in the Islamic world, see Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 117–19. For the attempt to cultivate pepper in one of Shāhrukh's gardens, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 197.

[152] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 49.

garden that was Mīrak's speciality.[153] The *chahārbāgh* was a complex garden in which three components—plantings (especially ornamental and fruit-bearing trees), water (irrigation channels, pools, fountains), and a recreational structure, such as a pavilion or kiosk—formed a single compositional whole, designed according to a precise geometrical plan. In effect, the plan described in the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* represents the essential elements of what has been referred to as the canonical form of the Persian quadripartite garden.[154]

Mīrak was instrumental not only in elaborating Timurid concepts of garden design in Khorasan, but also in transmitting them to both Central Asia and India during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. After the fall of the Timurids in Khorasan, he emigrated to Bukhara where, in 922/1516, he completed the construction of a royal garden for the Shibanid Uzbek ruler ʿUbaidullāh Khan, while in 935/1529 he was involved in Babur's early garden construction projects at Agra and Dholpur in India.[155] After Mīrak's death, which occurred sometime between 1550 and 1559, his son Sayyid Muḥammad-i Mīrak emigrated to India, where the Mughal emperor Akbar entrusted him with the construction of a mausoleum for his father Humāyūn, in Delhi. Completed by 978/1570–71, this quadripartite architectural garden, with its pavilion-style tomb in the centre, adhered closely to the concepts of garden design that Mīrak had fostered in Khorasan and passed on to his son, Muḥammad.[156] The history of this outstanding family of landscape architects and garden designers originating from Timurid Herat confirms the conclusions reached by architectural historians

[153] For a translation of the chapter and a reconstruction of the garden with pavilion based on it, see Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*," 116–18, figs. 5–8. In practice, however, there appears to have been no difference between the terms *bāgh* and *chahārbāgh*—see R. D. McChesney, "Some Observations on 'Garden' and Its Meanings in the Property Transactions of the Juybari Family in Bukhara, 1544–77," in Petruccioli, *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, 100–103.

[154] See G. A. Pugachenkova, "Sredneaziatskie sady i parki XV veka," in G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iz khudozhestvennoi sokrovishchnitsy Srednego Vostoka* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo literatury i iskusstva imeni Gafura Guliama, 1987), 176ff.

[155] See Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 23–24, 48; and Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*," 113–14.

[156] See Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 48–49; and Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*," 114. For the history of the family, see also Subtelny, *Le monde est un jardin*, 114–21.

largely on the basis of stylistic analysis alone, regarding Timurid influence on Mughal Indian architecture and garden design.[157]

Water Distribution and Record-keeping

On account of its almost total dependence on irrigation, the intensive agriculture of the Herat region, as well as of other agrarian oases in Khorasan, demanded a sophisticated level of "hydraulic management" if its maximum potential was to be realized.[158] This consisted primarily of the strict regulation of the flow of water from a complex network of distribution canals by means of sluice gates and timing devices.[159] While the origins of the intricate system of water sharing by individual villages and farmers were rooted in local custom, the regulation of the system required a high degree of centralized, usually meaning government, control.[160] The system was a fragile one, demanding continuous maintenance and scrupulous supervision.[161] One of the main arguments of this study is that the later Timurids, particularly under Sulṭān-Ḥusain, represent one of the most successful cases of the management of hydroagriculture in the medieval history of greater Iran and Central Asia.

The cornerstone of an effectively managed agrarian society dependent on irrigation is detailed record-keeping, and the success of the intensive agriculture of the Herat region was posited on the maintenance of accurate crop registers, records of water distribution patterns, and financial ledgers.[162] That record-keeping was a major concern of all medieval Islamic states is a well-known fact. Record-keeping

[157] See Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich: Prestel, 1991), 43–44. I am indebted to Ebba Koch, the first architectural historian to identify Sayyid Muḥammad in this connection, for many fruitful exchanges on the subject.

[158] The term is borrowed from Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, who also refers to "hydraulic agriculture," "hydraulic society," "hydraulic economy," "hydraulic state."

[159] For methods of water distribution, see Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources*, 77–89.

[160] Further on this, see Boserup, *Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, 98–99.

[161] A point made very clearly in Lambton, "Qanāts of Yazd," 23; and Lambton, "Role of Agriculture," 287.

[162] For record-keeping in societies dependent on irrigated agriculture, see Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, 50ff. For some of the earliest evidence of record-keeping in the Near East, see Hans J. Nissen, Peter Damerow, and Robert K. Englund, *Archaic Bookkeeping: Early Writing and Techniques of Economic Administration in the Ancient Near East*, trans. Paul Larsen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

techniques were highly elaborated and extremely complex. Handbooks on bureaucratic and administrative procedures proliferated starting from ʿAbbasid times. The earliest extant work on what was referred to as "secretaryship" (*kitāba*), the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* by al-Khvārazmī, which most probably relates to eastern Iran and Transoxiana during the latter part of the tenth century, detailed the technical terms employed in the various *dīvān*s (financial departments), including the department for water distribution, and the names of the different types of ledgers or register books.[163] The viewpoint from which such works were written was naturally that of the central bureaucracy as tax collector.

Information about water distribution patterns in the Herat region during the late Timurid period has been preserved in a manual entitled *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb* (The method of water distribution by sluice-gate).[164] Like the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, it too was compiled by Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, and in fact it was discovered appended to the earliest known manuscript copy of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, dated 927/1521.[165] Just as in the case of the agricultural manual, the hydrological manual relates specifically to the nine districts (*bulūkāt*) of the Herat region, each district representing the area watered by a separate canal.[166] The existence of the *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, as well as Isfizārī's historico-geographical work *Rauẓāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf-i madīnat-i Harāt*, all of which relate to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, attests to the importance accorded to irrigation agriculture in the Herat region during his reign.

The water distribution patterns recorded in the *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb* had apparently already been established during the reign of the Kartid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Malik-Ḥusain (1332–70), when the *shaikh al-Islām* Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khvāfī assessed the irrigation

[163] See C. E. Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 120ff. For the many different types of *daftar*s, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Daftar" (by B. Lewis).

[164] Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī Haravī, *Risāla-i Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, ed. Māyil Haravī ([Tehran], 1347/1969). The exact date of its composition is not known; however, the *terminus ante quem* is 888/1483, the date of the death of the *muḥtasib* Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain, who was still alive at the time of its composition—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 14–15.

[165] Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, MS, Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 5456 (copied by Muḥammad Anbārdār Mālik, possibly at the Anṣārī shrine). See Īraj Afshār, "Rasā'il az mu'allif-i *Irshād al-zirā'a*," *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn* 13 (1344/1966): 7, 29–67.

[166] For the districts of the Herat region, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:22, 2:24; Vavilov and Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, 145; and Allen, *Catalogue*, 10.

needs of the Herat region, village-by-village.[167] These distribution patterns were re-established and formally confirmed during the reign of the Timurid Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd by Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain (d. 888/1483), the *muḥtasib* of Herat, who also occupied the post during the first part of the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, thereby ensuring the continuity of hydrological practices and water distribution patterns in the Herat region.[168] The establishment of water distribution patterns involved the setting up of timing devices (*naṭara, qulb*) that measured the flow of the water into distribution channels.[169] According to Qāsim b. Yūsuf, once the system of water distribution had been confirmed by Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain, it became the standard practice followed by all the *mīrāb*s, the officials responsible for overseeing water distribution, in the Herat region.[170]

Thus, although sanctioned by local custom, the system of water sharing received further endorsement from the Islamic religious authorities. Examples of this practice may be adduced from various periods in the history of greater Iran and Central Asia. During Samanid times, the water distribution patterns of the Bukhara oasis were confirmed by the chief qadi of Bukhara, Saʿīd b. Khalaf al-Balkhī.[171] Later, under the Safavid Shāh ʿAbbās, the *ṣadr* of Isfahan, Shaikh Bahāʾī, confirmed the water distribution patterns of the Zayandarud system.[172] This religious sanction lent an additional measure of stability to a society whose experience of sharing scarce water resources already imposed on it a fair measure of cohesiveness and solidarity.[173] Muslim jurists became involved early on in the formulation of laws concerning water rights encompassing such issues as access to *qanāt*s and the status of the restricted perimeter (*ḥarīm*) of irrigation canals and wells. The earliest known work of this type in the eastern Islamic world appears to have been the *Kitāb al-qunī*, composed in the ninth century on the order of

[167] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 12–13.

[168] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 81, 14–15.

[169] For the *qulb* device, see Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources*, 81–82. According to Qāsim b. Yūsuf, there was no more difficult task than setting up these timing devices (*qulb bastan*)—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 14.

[170] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 15. For the *mīrāb*, see below.

[171] See Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Narshakhī, *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Mudarris Riżavī (repr. ed., Tehran, 1351/1972), 6.

[172] See Ann K. S. Lambton, "The Regulation of the Waters in the Zāyande Rūd," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9 (1938): 663ff.

[173] See Paul Vieille, "Mode de production et impérialisme: Le cas de l'Iran," *L'homme et la société* 27, no. 6 (1973): 82ff.

the Tahirid governor of Khorasan.[174] As might be expected, disputes frequently arose over rights to irrigation water, and the legal opinions (*fatāvā*) handed down by jurists in such cases became codified in separate sections dealing with water rights in the legal manuals.[175]

What is most significant for our discussion of the hydrology of the Herat region is the fact that, in compiling his manual, Qāsim b. Yūsuf consulted ledger books in a records office (*daftar-khāna*) in which information on the water distribution patterns of the Herat region was recorded.[176] The reference to a records office confirms the assumption that the system of water distribution in the Herat region was centrally monitored during the Timurid period.[177]

Moreover, Qāsim b. Yūsuf states that his source of information about water distribution patterns in the Herat region was the same Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ who had also advised him about the agricultural practices of the Herat region during the compilation of his agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirāʿa*.[178] It appears that not only was Mīrak the chief agronomist and landscape architect of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's court, he also served as the *mīrāb* responsible for overseeing the distribution of water in the Herat region, and also for the maintenance of the entire irrigation network.[179] The hereditary nature of Mīrak's position in the field of water management (*mīrābī*) is also an indication of the importance and complexity of the tasks he was responsible for.[180] In fact, he is

[174] See M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, eds., *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 159; A. K. S. Lambton, "The Origin, Diffusion and Functioning of the Qanat," in Beaumont, Bonine, and McLachlan, *Qanat, Kariz and Khattara*, 9; and Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 217.

[175] See, for example, Muḥammad Maḥrūs ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Mudarris, *Mashāyikh Balkh min al-Ḥanafiyya*, 2 vols. (Baghdad, 1369/1977), vol. 2, chap. 32 on "Questions concerning water and irrigation canals (*anhār*)." See also Hashem Rajabzadeh, "Irrigation Examined through Documents of Qajar Iran," in *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Nobuaki Kondo (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 137.

[176] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 81.

[177] Thus Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 60.

[178] In both of his works, Qāsim b. Yūsuf refers to him by the same titles, including that of patron, *valī al-niʿamī*—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 81; and Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 113. For the title (*laqab*) *valī al-niʿam* (or *valī-i niʿmat*), see Roy P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 77–78.

[179] See Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 180–81; and Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 24.

[180] See Jürgen Paul's remark that the position of *mīrāb* could be hereditary, but usually only in large and complex systems—see Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 64.

described by Qāsim b. Yūsuf as an "overseer" (*nāẓir*) and "minister" (*dastūr*) of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's, and also as an individual who "strengthens and advances the Sharīʿa," thus pointing to a much wider scope of supervisory responsibility.[181] In view of his high rank and responsibilities, Mīrak would have had access to written records on the water distribution patterns of the Herat region, and in fact Qāsim b. Yūsuf states that when he was composing his manual, he made the data on the water distribution patterns of the district of Kamburāq available to him from a copy he had made himself from the records office.[182]

The functions of the *mīrāb* went back to ancient times, and one of the earliest descriptions of his duties is found in the Samanid administrative manual *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*.[183] Besides being professionally knowledgeable, the *mīrāb* was, as a rule, a highly respected individual enjoying social trust. In pre-Mongol times, the *mīrāb* of the Marv oasis was the most respected and authoritative in all of Khorasan. According to the early Arabic geographers, he supervised 10,000 men in the maintenance of the irrigation network.[184] Under the Seljuq sultan Sanjar, 12,000 functionaries supposedly oversaw the distribution of water in the region.[185] It is not unreasonable to assume that, when Herat became the political and cultural centre of Khorasan in the post-Mongol period, the water distribution system would have been maintained by a similarly significant number of people, who were overseen by the *mīrāb*. Even in modern times, government officials fulfilling the traditional functions of the *mīrāb* still play a great role in water distribution in the Herat region.[186]

Mīrak's qualifications for the position sound very much like the nineteenth-century description of a *mīrāb* from the Qum region who possessed extensive knowledge of both agriculture (e.g., estimates crop yields both in the field and on the threshing floor) and hydrology (e.g., determines from the rate of flow of water in a subterranean irrigation canal how much repair it required).[187] Mīrak is also known to have

[181] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 48.
[182] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 81.
[183] See Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 151; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 123–24; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ābyārī" (by B. Spooner), 409.
[184] Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 151; and Christensen, *Decline of Iranshahr*, 190 (both citing Ibn Ḥauqal). For a discussion of the post of *mīrāb* in pre-Mongol times, see Paul, *Herrscher, Gemeinwesen, Vermittler*, 56–57.
[185] Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:23.
[186] See Grønhaug, "Scale as a Variable," 84–85, 91ff.
[187] See Lambton, "Qanats of Qum," 152.

possessed extensive properties of his own in Khorasan, and to have constructed many subterranean irrigation canals.[188] Being of sayyid background, he possessed great social prestige, and his philanthropic activities, which are alluded to in the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, earned him an additional measure of trust in the Herat community.[189]

A Medieval Management Accountant: Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī

Rarely, if ever, do the sources provide information about the managerial personnel on the production side who helped generate the agricultural surplus that constituted the main source of taxation revenues. The countless individuals involved in the management of agricultural production have consequently remained nameless. It is for this reason that the figure of Qāsim b. Yūsuf is so important in achieving an understanding of the nature of agricultural management in medieval Iran. Scholars had earlier searched in vain in the standard narrative sources for clues to his identity, but, in view of his occupation, the information they were looking for would never have been proffered in such sources in the first place.

The author of manuals on agriculture and water distribution, and assistant to Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's chief agronomist and hydrologist, Qāsim b. Yūsuf may be regarded as embodying the link between the management of irrigation agriculture and record-keeping in medieval Iran. It is clear that Qāsim b. Yūsuf had access to and utilized crop registers in the composition of his agricultural manual, as he states, for example, that a certain plant that he describes in the *Irshād al-zirāʿa* was listed in the crop registers.[190] As mentioned earlier, during his composition of the *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, he utilized data on the water distribution patterns of the Herat region that were kept in a records office.[191]

With regard to his professional training, Qāsim b. Yūsuf states in the introduction to his agricultural manual that he had studied "the

[188] See Niṣārī Bukhārī, *Muẓakkir-i aḥbāb*, 284 n. 2.
[189] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 48–49, where he is referred to as "the one who rebuilds every ruined building," and "who gives money freely for pious causes."
[190] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 92.
[191] See p. 139 above.

science of accountancy script" (*ʿilm-i siyāq*),[192] and he refers to himself as a *sāyiq*, that is, one who is proficient in the special script called *siyāq* used by accountants.[193] No doubt to underscore its difficulty, he notes that the *siyāq* script had been "invented" by the fourth Orthodox caliph and first Shiʿite *imām*, ʿAlī, to whom the invention of many occult sciences was popularly ascribed in the eastern Islamic world.[194] He says that he decided to take up accounting after he had lost his previous job, but then he had a dream vision in which he was told that the great Sufi saint of Herat, Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, suggested he drop the professional designation *sāyiq*, and adopt the sobriquet *qāniʿ* instead, meaning that he should become a Sufi, since the word *qāniʿ* (i.e., the contented one) was often applied euphemistically to Muslim mystics who led an ascetic lifestyle.[195] After taking an augury from the Qurʾān and chancing upon a verse in which plants and fruit trees were mentioned, he decided to become involved in agriculture.

From this rather fanciful account that involves the medieval topos of the dream vision, we may deduce that, even before completing his training, Qāsim b. Yūsuf was recruited to the shrine of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī at Gāzurgāh as an accountant (*sāyiq*), with responsibility for the financial management of agriculture on the lands belonging to the

[192] *Siyāq* (also: *siyāqat*) was a technical term used since ʿAbbasid times to refer to accounting in general, and more specifically to the shorthand form of the Arabo-Persian script that was utilized for notation in financial ledgers (*daftar*, pl. *dafātir*). It was usually regarded as a science (*ʿilm*) rather than an art (*fann*). See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Siyāḳat" (by C. J. Heywood) (although there is virtually no mention of the fact that Persian works on the subject served as the models for Ottoman record-keeping); and L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkische Finanzverwaltung: Beitrag zur türkischen Paläographie*, trans. A. Jacobi, 2 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), 1:21, 1:26–27.

[193] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 8. Although the edited text reads *sābiq* (i.e., the former), there is no doubt that the correct reading is *sāyiq*, since it follows Qāsim b. Yūsuf's statement that he had studied *siyāq*. This was an easy error for a copyist to make, involving the placement of just one diacritical point instead of two. The editor, Muḥammad Mushīrī, notes that the earliest manuscript of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, dated 927/1521, was already full of errors—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, iii–iv.

[194] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 8. ʿAlī was credited with the invention of geomancy as well as several complex styles of calligraphy—see V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī (Circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 107. Knowledge of the *siyāq* script, which had a different appearance from the Arabo-Persian script, was regarded as an esoteric science, since it was decipherable only by those with special training.

[195] As the poet Ḥāfiẓ says, "strive for contentment (*qanāʿat*), and abandon this lowly material world." See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, *Dīvān*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī and Qāsim Ghanī (Tehran, 1374/1995), no. 151, line 7.

shrine's endowments.[196] Since the management of agricultural activity was considered to be one of the branches of *ʿilm-i siyāq*, Qāsim b. Yūsuf, like other authors of important medieval Persian agricultural treatises, must have been proficient in what would today be called management accounting.[197]

Qāsim b. Yūsuf's range of expertise was obviously far broader than what we today normally associate with the functions of an accountant. In addition to keeping registers in *siyāq* notation and producing financial statements, medieval agricultural managers like him were responsible for a wide variety of related areas, such as estimating crop yields, assessing taxes, and surveying, which required practical knowledge of mathematics and geometry.[198] The close link between "bookkeeping" and the exact sciences, particularly geometry and astronomy, in ancient and pre-modern complex societies has been clearly established.[199] General treatises written during the ʿAbbasid period on the training and guidance of bureaucratic functionaries emphasized the need for a working knowledge of geometry and mathematics in order to conduct such important operations as surveying.[200] The *Adab al-kātib* (The training of a bureaucratic scribe) by the ninth-century author Ibn Qutaiba, which has been characterized as a book on "pure occupational *adab*," contains the following excursus on the qualifications of the professional scribe:[201]

> The Persians (*al-ʿAjam*) used to say that whoever was not knowledgeable about the distribution of [irrigation] water, the digging of conduits [from a stream], the repairing of gaps [in dikes], the calculation of the length of the days, the rotation of the sun, the location of the stars, the phases and movements of the moon, the determination of weights, the measurement

[196] Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 7–8; and Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 170–72.

[197] See Īraj Afshār, "Fihrist-nāma-i ahamm-i mutūn-i kishāvarzī dar zabān-i fārsī," *Āyandeh* 8, no. 10 (1361/1983): 694. For modern definitions of accounting, see Robert N. Anthony and James S. Reece, *Accounting: Text and Cases*, 6th ed. (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1979), 4–7.

[198] The term *sāyiq* could also have other meanings, such as surveyor, which would have been applicable in Qāsim b. Yūsuf's case. See Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 170–72; and Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṯ," 35–37.

[199] See Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; repr. ed., 1996), 78.

[200] Herodotus ascribed the rise of geometry in ancient Egypt to the need for annually surveying the land inundated by the Nile—see Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, 29.

[201] See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Adab, ii. In Arabic Literature" (by Ch. Pellat), 442.

> of triangles, squares/rectangles and polygons, the raising of dams and levees, [the building of] water-lifting devices, the characteristics of artisans' tools, and the fine points of computation, was deficient in the profession of secretaryship (*kitābat*).[202]

The titles of many influential Arabic treatises written during the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as *Kitāb al-Manāzil fī mā yaḥtāju ilaihi al-kuttāb wa al-ʿummāl min ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (The book of stages regarding what secretaries and bureaucrats are required to know about the science of computation) by the Persian mathematician Abū al-Wafāʾ Muḥammad al-Būzjānī, and *Kitāb al-Hāwī li-al-aʿmāl al-sulṭāniyya wa rusūm al-ḥisāb al-dīwāniyya* (The comprehensive book of bureaucratic procedures and practices connected with financial accounting) by an unknown author of the Buyid period, signalled early on the practical intent of such works within the framework of the professional bureaucratic management of early Islamic societies.[203] Not surprisingly, descriptions of the functions of the *vazīr*, the head of the financial bureaucracy, stressed that he should first and foremost be expert in accounting and financial transactions.[204]

In this respect, too, Qāsim b. Yūsuf's training and functions were in keeping with the need for administrators to have practical knowledge of the exact sciences. His manual on water distribution patterns assumes proficiency in mathematics, especially in computations involving fractions, which were essential for time-keeping.[205] His agricultural manual contains separate sections on the method of estimating crop yields,[206] and on the best times for planting based on astrological considerations.[207] Especially convincing is the fact that Qāsim b. Yūsuf is believed to have been the author of several handbooks on computation, mensuration, and surveying, that were discovered appended to the earliest manuscript copy of the *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, together with his manual on the hydrology

[202] Ibn Qutaiba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Max Grünert (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1900), 10–11.

[203] For Abū al-Wafāʾ, see Young, Latham, and Serjeant, *Religion, Learning and Science*, 159–60; and Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 12 vols. to date (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–2000), 5:321–24. For *Kitāb al-Hāwī*, see C. E. Bosworth, "Some Remarks on the Terminology of Irrigation Practices and Hydraulic Constructions in the Eastern Arab and Iranian Worlds in the Third–Fifth Centuries A.H.," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1991): 79.

[204] See, for example, Kai Kāʾūs, *Qābūs-nāma*, 124.

[205] Mohebbi, *Techniques et ressources*, 80ff.

[206] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 246–48.

[207] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, chap. 2.

of the Herat region.[208] Similar handbooks on geometry, mathematics, surveying, and astronomy were assembled in anonymous compilations during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (see fig. 6).[209]

Career Opportunities for Accountants in Timurid Herat

The profession of accountant appears to have been a popular career choice for young men in Herat during the second half of the fifteenth century. Not only were financial bureaucrats held in high regard, judging from the lofty titles by which they were addressed in Timurid chancery culture, but the job prospects for individuals with training in accounting had become very attractive.[210] According to the social and literary historian Daulatshāh, even the children of artisans and shepherds were abandoning their traditional occupations for lucrative careers as accountants in the financial bureaucracy. Daulatshāh strongly disapproved of the trend. His reasons, however, had more to do with the traditional Persian notion that positions in government administration should be given only to people of noble origin, than with an objective analysis of social trends in late Timurid Herat.[211] In an extended passage that merits citation in full, he argued that poorly trained individuals of low social status who had made it into the financial administration of the state were using their positions to enrich themselves at the expense of the subject population:

[208] See Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, MS, Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 5456, fols. 154a–188a. For an edition, see Afshār, "Rasāʾil," 7–28; for a description, see Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 173. I am indebted to Prof. Edward S. Kennedy for helping me decipher the contents of these handbooks.

[209] The most substantial and best known of these compilations is the anonymous [Majmūʿa], "Recueil d'ouvrages d'astronomie et de mathématiques," MS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds persan 169. For a description, see Francis Richard, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 1, *Ancien fonds* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1989), 183–87.

[210] For the titles of financial officials and accountants, see Kāshifī, *Makhzan al-inshāʾ*, fol. 36a; and Colin Paul Mitchell, "To Preserve and Protect: Husayn Vaʿiz-i Kashifi and Perso-Islamic Chancellery Culture," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003): 490.

[211] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 179–80. For the idea in the Persian advice literature, see Kai Kāʾūs, *Qābūs-nāma*, 126; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyar al-mulūk*, 208–9; and Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, 143.

> This [new] custom whereby the children of weavers and country folk have taken the pen of financial accounting (*istīfā'*) into the hand of oppression, and [whereby] a group whose occupation and the occupation of whose forefathers has been cow herding now talk of keeping accounts in the financial bureaucracy (*siyāqat-i dīvānī*) and the administration of government affairs (*'amal-i sulṭānī*) should be stopped completely, because it is a detriment to the Faith and the Muslim community, and a violation of divine Law and prophetic Tradition.
>
> It is better to place a sword in the hands of a drunken black man
> Than to put science in the hands of a nobody.[212]
>
> For it has been observed that merchants, the common people, and [even] villagers and nomads are sending their children to learn the science of accounting notation (*'ilm-i ruqūm va siyāq*),[213] and as soon as they, undeservedly, gain a bit of knowledge in this science, they are hired into the tax administration, and [in this way] the corruption of these low-born types affects Muslims.[214]

The chief merit of Daulatshāh's observation for the present discussion is that it indicates that the interest in the study of bookkeeping and accounting had become generalized during the late Timurid period. His observation is supported by the existence of late Timurid manuscript copies of several important Persian accounting manuals. These include the earliest extant copy of the Ilkhanid manual *Risāla-i falakiyya*, which dates from ca. 1467, and the earliest extant copy of the Timurid accounting manual *Shams al-siyāq*, which dates from 906/1500. Both were probably copied in Herat. Moreover, as noted by Walther Hinz, the copy of the *Shams al-siyāq* is replete with errors, probably indicating that the copyist was a student in a rush to make a copy for himself.[215] This corroborates Daulatshāh's complaint that students studying accounting notation in his day did not acquire a very thorough knowledge of it before taking up employment. It will be recalled that even Qāsim b. Yūsuf, the author of the *Irshād al-zirā'a*, admitted having joined the

[212] For this frequently cited verse from Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*, see Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kitāb-i Maṣnavī-i ma'navī*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson, 6 bks. in 3 vols. (repr. ed., n.p.: Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1985), bk. 4, line 1437.

[213] The term *ruqūm* denotes the Arabic numerals that are reduced to a shorthand form in the *siyāq* script—see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Siyāḳat" (by C. J. Heywood).

[214] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 179.

[215] See Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen," 314; and 'Alī Shīrāzī, *Shams al-siyāq*, fol. 134b.

administration of the Anṣārī shrine before having fully completed his training in *siyāq*.

The demand for accountants and other financial management personnel during the late Timurid period could only have been occasioned by the expansion of agriculture in the Herat region. A major factor contributing to this development was the increase in the number of pious endowments during the second half of the fifteenth century, and it is to the topic of the Islamic pious endowment (*vaqf*), and its role in the organization and management of agricultural activity, that we now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE

PIETY AND PRAGMATISM: THE ROLE OF THE ISLAMIC PIOUS ENDOWMENT

Endowment Activity in Khorasan

The pious endowment, or *vaqf*, was a characteristic and ubiquitous feature of all medieval Islamic societies. Essentially, it involved the voluntary conveyance of private property by the donor (*wāqif*) to the status of mortmain, or permanent inalienability, and the assignment of the revenue or usufruct from that property to a charitable purpose. The act of endowment had to be formulated in a legal manner, usually in the form of an endowment deed (*vaqfiyya* or *vaqf-nāma*), which was probated by a judge and witnessed. The donor had the right to designate the beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*) and to appoint a trustee (*mutavallī*), who was charged with administering the endowments and implementing the conditions (*sharāʾiṭ*) stipulated by the donor.[1]

Under the influence of socio-economic and political factors, the Islamic legal schools interpreted certain points of the law concerning *vaqf* differently in those regions where a given school prevailed.[2] Of primary concern in the present discussion is the Hanafite school of legal interpretation, which predominated in eastern Iran and Central Asia from early Islamic times through the period of Timurid rule.[3] It appears to have provided the most favourable conditions for the establishment of *vaqf*, permitting the conveyance not only of immovable but also movable property, the latter even including cash and income-producing

[1] For one of the best discussions, see R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 3ff.

[2] As in the case of the law of land tax and rent, for which see Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 1–4.

[3] See I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, trans. Hubert Evans (London: Athlone, 1985), 303; W. Madelung, "The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks," in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa, 1968* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 109–68; and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Ḥanafiyya" (by W. Heffening and J. Schacht).

instruments such as the *soyurghal*.[4] It also permitted the donor to appoint himself and his descendants as the trustee, and even to designate his descendants as the primary beneficiaries of the endowment.[5]

While Khorasan experienced a proliferation of *auqāf* (sg. *vaqf*) during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, an unprecedented level of endowment activity appears to have been reached during the second half of the fifteenth century.[6] According to Khvāndamīr, the number of endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*) in Khorasan had become so great that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had to make multiple appointments to the post of *ṣadr*, the official charged with overseeing the administration of pious endowments.[7] Most of the impressive public building activity and architectural restoration that took place and that served as a basis for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign to be regarded as one of the outstanding periods in medieval Islamic cultural history, went hand in hand with the creation of endowed foundations for the maintenance of the buildings and the support of the activities they housed. Isfizārī made the sweeping statement that there were more buildings constructed and endowed during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign than at any other time in the history of Khorasan.[8] Contemporary sources estimate the value of the endowments established by the pre-eminent cultural patron, Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, who was credited with the construction of approximately 370 buildings and public works, at 5 million *kapakī dīnārs*.[9]

[4] See J. Krcsmárik, "Das Waḳfrecht vom Standpunkte des Śarîʿatrechtes nach der ḥanefitischen Schule," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891): 529–30; Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala," 242–43; McChesney, *Waqf*, 11; and Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases," 482–83. For examples of the conveyance of *soyurghals* and other tax immunities to *vaqf* during the Timurid period, see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 75, 163; and Fikrī Saljūqī, ed., *Risāla-i Mazārāt-i Harāt* (Kabul, 1967), app., 134.

[5] On the admissibility of this practice in the Hanafite school, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Waḳf, i. In Classical Islamic Law" (by R. Peters), 61–63; Krcsmárik, "Das Waḳfrecht," 558–60; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 9.

[6] See Ann Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia: 6th–8th/12th–14th Centuries," *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 3 (1997): 304.

[7] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:321–28. For the office of *ṣadr* under the Timurids, see Gottfried Herrmann, "Zur Entstehung des Ṣadr-Amtes," in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Beirut: Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1979), 279.

[8] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:311.

[9] Daulatshāh, *Taẕkirat al-shuʿarā'*, 505–6; ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, 134; Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fols. 145b–147a; and Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 195–96, 199–200. In order to put this sum into perspective, the cost of a home in the exclusive Khiyābān district of Herat was about 3,000 *kapakī dīnārs* at the time—see Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fol. 170a. For the cost of several luxury items in Herat at this time, see Vāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* 1:541–42.

Sulṭān-Ḥusain was himself one of the major donors of his time, reportedly purchasing many agricultural properties, including choice village lands and estates, with his own private funds for the express purpose of conveying them to *vaqf*.[10] In this he followed a practice started by Shāhrukh in the first part of the century.[11] Royal endowed properties (*mauqūfāt-i khāṣṣa-i sulṭānī, mauqūfāt-i humāyūn*) constituted a separate category of *auqāf*, and one of the functions of the *ṣadr* appears to have been to oversee their administration.[12] Sulṭān-Ḥusain also considerably enlarged the fund of royal endowments by privatizing state lands, a complex legal procedure which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Charitable and Family Endowments

During the Timurid period, the most prevalent types of endowments were the charitable, or public *vaqf* (*vaqf-i khairī* or *vaqf-i ʿāmm*), established for the benefit of public institutions, such as mosques, *madrasa*s and lodges (*khānaqāh*), which benefited the Muslim community as a whole; and the family, or private *vaqf* (*vaqf-i aulād*), which was intended primarily for the benefit of the donor's own relatives and descendants.[13] The distinction between these two types of endowments was, however, often difficult to discern, and both were treated equally from the standpoint of Islamic law. Founders of charitable endowments sometimes designated their descendants among the beneficiaries; by the same token, founders of family trusts often stipulated that a portion of the income from the endowment should benefit needy Muslims.[14] And even if a

[10] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:111 (*az khāliṣ-i amvāl-i khvīsh*).

[11] See Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:95; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:554. Thus also in other parts of the Islamic world—see Maya Shatzmiller, "'Waqf Khayrī' in Fourteenth-Century Fez: Legal, Social and Economic Aspects," *Anaquel des estudios arabes* 2 (1991): 201.

[12] Qāżī Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Marvazī held the post until 909/1503–4. For his diploma of appointment, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 233–35. He was succeeded by Amīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulṭān-Ibrāhīm Amīnī, the author of the *Futūḥāt-i Shāhī*, who remained in the post until Sulṭān-Ḥusain's death. See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:326–28. The division of the *ṣadr*'s duties between public and royal endowments appears to have occurred already in Timurid times—see Herrmann, "Zur Entstehung des Ṣadr-Amtes," 282.

[13] For the *vaqf-i ʿāmm*, see Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 303. Other terms used for the family *vaqf* were *vaqf-i ahlī*, *vaqf-i zurrī*, and *vaqf-i zurr-i aulād*.

[14] Nevertheless, legal handbooks provide separate forms of documents to be used for the charitable and the family endowment. See ʿAlī b. Muḥammad-ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Mukhtārī al-Khvārazmī al-Kubravī, *al-Ǧavāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya fī al-vaṣāʾiq al-sharʿiyya va al-sijillāt al-marʿiyya*, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 9138, fols. 59bff.

charitable endowment did not directly benefit a donor's family, by designating himself and his descendants as trustees, the founder created what effectively amounted to a family trust, since he and his children (*aulād*) and their descendants (*aulād-i aulād*) and their descendants' descendants (*aulād-i aulād-i aulād*) were guaranteed a fixed percentage of the endowment income in perpetuity.[15] This type of "mixed" endowment, which served both public and private purposes, predominated during the period under discussion, and it was favoured in particular by individuals of elite status, especially women.[16] In his far-ranging comparison of the institution of *vaqf* with similar acts of beneficence in other civilizations, Gabriel Baer made the observation that only the Islamic *vaqf* combined both public and private aims within the same framework governed by the same laws.[17]

The charitable object of endowments that combined concern for public welfare with private benefit was traditionally a *madrasa*, a *khānaqāh*, or a mosque. During the Timurid period, however, it was more often than not the tomb shrine of a Muslim saint or scholar, or the mausoleum of a ruler or member of his family, including that of the donor himself. In fact, judging from the architectural and documentary record, it would appear that funerary monuments were the most frequently endowed

[15] These phrases are characteristically used in deeds of endowment, which sometimes feature a long string of *aulād-i aulād*s.

[16] Although this type of endowment is sometimes referred to in the scholarly literature as "mixed" (*mushtarak*), the term never occurs in the Hanafite legal handbooks pertaining to medieval Iran and Central Asia. In fact, it seems that all endowments were in some way "mixed." On this point see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Waḳf, i. In Classical Islamic Law" (by R. Peters), 60; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 9. This was also the case in the western Islamic world during the Mamluk period—see Adam Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity? The Ambivalent Character of Islamic Charitable Endowments," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 101.

[17] Gabriel Baer, "The Muslim Waqf and Similar Institutions in Other Civilizations," ed. Miriam Hoexter, in Borgolte, *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam*, 273–74. Baer did not take into consideration the Zoroastrian endowment, however, which had many features in common with the Islamic endowment—see Farraxvmart ī Vahrāmān, *The Book of a Thousand Judgements (A Sasanian Law-Book)*, ed. and trans. Anahit Perikhanian, trans. Nina Garsoïan (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda in association with Bibliotheca Persica, 1997), 97–99; and Shaul Shaked, "'For the Sake of the Soul': A Zoroastrian Idea in Transmission into Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 23.

public and private buildings during the Timurid period, either as free-standing structures or as mausolea located within a *madrasa* or *khānaqāh*.[18] The practice of associating a mausoleum with a *madrasa* was by no means new in the Islamic world. It is attested by numerous examples in Iran and Central Asia starting from around the eleventh century, such as the renowned Karakhanid *madrasa*-mausoleum in Samarqand, and it was prevalent in Ayyubid Syria and Mamluk Egypt during the period of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.[19] The predilection for the endowment of the domed funerary marker, particularly on the part of elite Timurid women, may reflect the central role of women in the maintenance of dynastic relationships in Turko-Mongolian culture, a role that had already manifested itself in Iran under such notable dynasties of Turkic origin as the Seljuqs, and in Central Asia even under the Mongol Chaghatayids.[20]

While religiously motivated philanthropy and enhancement of social standing cannot be discounted as reasons for the establishment of pious endowments, there were certain economic advantages of *vaqf*, particularly in the Hanafite legal interpretation, that made it an attractive financial instrument.[21] In the first place, it served to preserve family

[18] According to Golombek and Wilber, buildings erected over tombs or tomb enclosures constitute about 40 per cent of all Timurid monuments, and about 50 per cent of extant monuments—see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:49–50. See also Claus-Peter Haase, "Shrines of Saints and Dynastic Mausolea: Towards a Typology of Funerary Architecture in the Timurid Period," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3–4 (1997): 215–25.

[19] See Thomas Leisten, *Architektur für Tote: Bestattung in architektonischem Kontext in den Kernländern der islamischen Welt zwischen 3./9. und 6./12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1998), 41–44, 250 (for the Karakhanid *madrasa* and mausoleum); Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Memoria und Stiftung im Islam: Die Entwicklung des Totengedächtnisses bis zu den Mamluken," in Borgolte, *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam*, 80–81; Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95–100; and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Madrasa, iii. Architecture" (by R. Hillenbrand), 1139–49.

[20] See Haase, "Shrines of Saints," 215–16; and the intriguing article by Monique Kervran, "Un monument baroque dans les steppes du Kazakhstan: Le tombeau d'Örkina Khatun, princesse Chaghatay?" *Arts asiatiques* 57 (2002): 25–28. For the role of Timurid women in particular, see Priscilla P. Soucek, "Tīmūrid Women: A Cultural Perspective," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 213; and Manz, "Women in Timurid Dynastic Politics," 121ff.

[21] For the status of charity in Islam and the philanthropic motive for *vaqf*, see Robert D. McChesney, *Charity and Philanthropy in Islam: Institutionalizing the Call to Do Good*, Essays in Philanthropy, no. 14 ([Bloomington]: Indiana University Center on Philanthropy, 1995), 6–8; Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 69ff.; and most recently Yaacov Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 53ff.

property from becoming fragmented as a result of the application of the Islamic laws of inheritance. This was particularly true in the case of land and water rights.[22] According to Daulatshāh, the reason why Mīr ʿAlīshīr conveyed the entirety of his personal property to *vaqf* was to ensure that it would not fall into the hands of "heirs and those who profit from windfalls," an allusion to the role of *vaqf* in preventing the fragmentation of an individual's estate.[23]

The "mixed" endowment allowed the donor and his descendants to exercise a high degree of control over the properties that had been conveyed to the endowment, either as direct beneficiaries or as trustees. Although not tax-exempt by definition, endowed property could enjoy certain tax privileges, such as a lower rate of taxation, or even tax-exemption in special cases and under certain conditions.[24] Because it was inalienable, and hence could not be bought, sold, or usurped, *vaqf* provided an additional, although by no means guaranteed, cushion of security in times of political instability.[25]

It was, however, a litigious institution, much prone to disputes over such issues as the right to inherit the trusteeship and the status of properties that had been conveyed to *vaqf*. It is in fact thanks to the legal record, especially lawsuits brought against endowments, and rulings made on these by judges that we are often able to ascertain whether a *vaqf* for which an endowment deed exists was ever implemented, or whether a

[22] For this function of *vaqf*, see Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 302; David S. Powers, "The Maliki Family Endowment: Legal Norms and Social Practices," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 3 (1993): 384; and Aharon Layish, "The Mālikī Family *Waqf* According to Wills and *Waqfiyyāt*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46, no. 1 (1983): 21.

[23] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 505.

[24] The documentary record contains many examples of the exemption of *vaqf* property from taxes and obligations by decree of the ruler—see below.

[25] See Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 113; and Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 303 (where she makes the observation that "private" *auqāf*, i.e., family *vaqf*s, were less common in the Seljuq period because the need to protect property from usurpation was not as strongly felt as it was later, in the Ilkhanid period). See also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Economy, v. From the Arab Conquest to the End of the Il-Khanids" (by Ann K. S. Lambton), 126. For the general motives for endowing property, with references to the earlier scholarly literature, see Michael E. Bonine, "Islam and Commerce: Waqf and the Bazaar of Yazd, Iran," *Erdkunde* 41 (1987): 184.

vaqf for which the original endowment deed is no longer extant existed in the first place, and even to reconstruct its particulars.[26]

But there was another powerful economic motive for establishing the family endowment, and that was its value as a long-term investment. With its mix of commercial and agricultural properties (the latter being favoured in heavily agricultural regions such as Khorasan), it was simply the best and most secure investment possible in an agrarian, pre-industrial Islamic society. It provided a good return, which could even be tax-sheltered, and it also allowed for capital accumulation, since any surplus remaining from the revenues was usually used to acquire new properties.[27] Compared with commercial ventures, such as long-distance trading partnerships (*ortaq*), which could provide returns on investment of several hundred per cent but which carried a high risk,[28] the return from *vaqf* property, which consisted largely of short to medium-term leases (*ijāra*), though much more modest, was essentially risk-free.[29]

It also seemed to provide a solution to Timurid political and fiscal dilemmas by allowing donors (many of whom were members of the Timurid military elite) a high degree of independence from state interference, not to mention high social prestige, and at the same time it assured the state a steady, albeit not very high, flow of revenue.

Women as Donors: Establishing a Motive

Since women were frequently substantive property owners in medieval Islamic societies, it is easy to understand why they would have found *vaqf* to be an attractive investment vehicle, and consequently why they would have played a prominent role as donors. About 30 per cent of all surviving endowment deeds from Mamluk Cairo are listed under the

[26] See the entire section devoted to the forms of documents to be used in various types of lawsuits brought against pious endowments in ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 175a–192b.

[27] On this, see David S. Powers, "A Court Case from Fourteenth-Century North Africa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 2 (1990): 242. This was, at any rate, a standard condition in endowment deeds—see, for example, Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-pazhūh and Īraj Afshār, eds., *Jāmiʿ al-khairāt: Vaqf-nāma-i Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusainī Yazdī* (Tehran, 1341/1963), 97.

[28] For such ventures, see Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen," 334.

[29] For the leasing of *vaqf* land, see Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 302.

names of women.[30] This is also the case in the documents contained in the Jūybarī family archive from sixteenth-century Bukhara.[31] It has been estimated that, in the Ottoman empire, elite women endowed between 5 and 20 per cent of all public buildings.[32]

The Islamic laws of inheritance are, in general, unfavourable to women. There is no provision for joint ownership of property between spouses, and the property of a deceased husband becomes subject to the laws of inheritance, which specify the number of fixed shares every family member is entitled to receive. The share of a wife's inheritance depends on the number and gender of her husband's other heirs. At best, she can expect to inherit one-quarter of her husband's estate if there are no children or grandchildren; otherwise, her share is one-eighth; and if she is one of several wives, her share is reduced even further.[33] Control of inherited family property thus tended to stay in male hands, and, as an institution *vaqf* was most frequently used by males to perpetuate the interests of their male descendants.[34]

Still, women managed to keep property, especially landed property, intact and undivided, and they often served as a vital link in the intergenerational transmission of property.[35] By conveying their own property or property received as a gift from a husband to *vaqf*, women could preserve it from claims by other family members after the husband's death. They could also preserve the share of property they had inherited from a husband or parent in this way.[36] This was particularly true

[30] See Carl F. Petry, "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 133.

[31] See R. D. McChesney, *Central Asia: Foundations for Change* (Princeton: Darwin, 1996), 60.

[32] See Ülkü Ü. Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," in *Women in the Muslim World*, ed. Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 247.

[33] See Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 171; N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 41; also Noah Ha Mim Keller, ed. and trans., *The Reliance of the Traveller: A Classical Manual of Islamic Law by Ahmad Ibn Naqib al-Misri (d. 769/1368)* (Evanston, IL: Sunna Books, 1991; repr. ed., 1993), 478.

[34] See Powers, "Maliki Family Endowment," 386.

[35] On this point see Petry, "Class Solidarity," 129–30; also Maya Shatzmiller, "Women and Property Rights in al-Andalus and the Maghrib: Social Patterns and Legal Discourse," *Islamic Law and Society* 2, no. 3 (1995): 253–55.

[36] See the description of the *vaqf* established in Ottoman Damascus in 1298/1880 by Ḥafīẓa Khānūm al-Mūrahlī, the wife of a prominent Damascene notable, from her

of women of royal or elite status, who were thus able to protect their property from being confiscated by a husband's political opponent or successor.[37] Women could also sell their inherited share and buy new properties in their own name, or engage in pre-emptive sales and transfers of property, which they then conveyed to *vaqf*.[38] In all cases, private ownership of the property as *milk* was the chief prerequisite for its conveyance to *vaqf*.

Since they were usually large property owners, women belonging to the ruling family, and wives and daughters of members of the amirid class, who were more often than not of Turkic or Turko-Mongolian background, were especially active as founders of endowments. The tradition started under the Seljuqs and Ayyubids and was continued from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries by the wives of the rulers of Yazd, Fars, and Kerman.[39] A corpus of endowments, known as the 'Iṣmatiyya *auqāf*, was established during the first half of the twelfth century by Zaitūn Khatun, the wife of Arslanshāh b. Kirmānshāh b. Qavurt, the ruler of Kerman, who was from an amirid family from Herat. The endowments set up by Qutluq Tärkän Khatun, the wife of the Qara Khitayid ruler of Kerman, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, during the second half of the thirteenth century, are especially noteworthy.[40] For the first part of the fifteenth century, we may mention the endowments of Bibi Fāṭima, the wife of Amīr Chaqmaq, in 849/1445–46 in Yazd.[41]

The active role of Timurid elite women as donors contributes to our understanding of the reasons for the dramatic expansion of the fund of pious endowments in Khorasan during the period of Timurid rule. Among women donors, many of whom were daughters of prominent

inheritance from her husband (which constituted one-quarter of his property), in Randi Deguilhem, "Naissance et mort du waqf damascain de Ḥafīẓa Ḥānūm al-Mūrahlī (1880–1950)," in *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique*, ed. Randi Deguilhem (Damascus: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, 1995), 203ff.

[37] On this last point, see R. G. Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Uzbekistane XVI v.: Po materialam "Vakf-name"* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1966), 98.

[38] See James A. Reilly, "Women in the Economic Life of Late-Ottoman Damascus," *Arabica* 42 (1995): 82.

[39] For the Seljuqs and their Atabegid successors, see Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, 149ff. For the Ayyubids, see R. Stephen Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 35–54.

[40] Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, 151; and Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 310–13. See also the description in Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 137.

[41] For which see Akio Iwatake, "The Waqf of a Timurid Amir: The Example of Chaqmaq Shami in Yazd," in Kondo, *Persian Documents*, 98; and app. 1, pp. 238–39.

Timurid *amīr*s, were Temür's wives Sarāy-Malik Khanim and Tümän Agha,[42] Khalīl Sultan b. Mīrānshāh's daughter Sarāy-Malik Agha,[43] 'Umar Shaikh b. Temür's wife (and later the wife of Shāhrukh) Malikat Agha,[44] Shāhrukh's wives Gauharshād and Ṭūtī Agha,[45] 'Alā' al-Daula's wife Khvānd-Malik Agha,[46] Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wives Zubaida Agha and Afaq Begim, his mother Fīrūza-Sulṭān Begim, and his daughter Khanim-Sulṭān Begim.[47] In the *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, Khvāndamīr makes special mention of the women of royal status who were active in building activity in Khorasan,[48] but he also mentions several non-royal women who were responsible for the construction of public buildings in Herat during the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, notably a Bibi Muḥibb and a female astrologer (*munajjima*) named Bīja (or Bibicha).[49]

A telling indication of the degree of the involvement of women in the establishment of endowed foundations in Timurid Iran and Central Asia is the high incidence of lawsuits brought both by and against women donors who were acting as trustees of endowed foundations. The early sixteenth-century Persian legal formulary *al-Ǧavāmi' al-'Aliyya* has preserved a number of rulings made by the judicial authorities of

[42] For the building activities of Sarāy-Malik Khanim, Temür's principal wife, see Soucek, "Tīmūrid Women," 206–10. After Temür's death, Tümän Agha received the village of Kūsūya from Shāhrukh as a *soyurghal*, and Khvāndamīr points out that many of the endowments she created there were still standing in his day—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:584. She also built a *khānaqāh* in Samarqand, which was still standing in 887/1482, according to a document which details the substitution of one of the endowed properties in that year—see 'Alī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Ǧavāmi' al-'Aliyya*, fol. 20b.

[43] For the summary of her deed of endowment for the shrine of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr in Bukhara, see app. 1, pp. 243–44.

[44] She was the builder of a *khānaqāh, dār al-ḥadīth*, hospital, and baths in Herat; a caravanserai located nine *farsakh*s from Herat; and a *madrasa* in Balkh, in which she was buried. See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:629; and Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 167.

[45] Gauharshād was the builder of a *masjid-i jāmi'* in Herat as well as of a *madrasa* in which her own mausoleum was located and which became a major burial place for members of Shāhrukh's line, including initially Shāhrukh himself. She also built and endowed a *masjid-i jāmi'* at the 'Alid shrine at Mashhad, for which see app. 1, p. 237. Ṭūtī Agha built a *madrasa* in Shiraz. See Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 167–68.

[46] Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 168.

[47] See O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 82–83; for Afaq Begim, see below.

[48] See nn. 44–46 above.

[49] Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 178; and Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 198 (where her name is given as Manīja). On the latter, see Maria Szuppe, "The Female Intellectual Milieu in Timurid and Post-Timurid Herāt: Faxri Heravi's Biography of Poetesses, *Ǧawāher al-'ajāyeb*," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15, no. 2 (1996), 1:132; and Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois*, 189.

Khorasan on such lawsuits, which the compiler, ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, intended as models to be followed by the *ʿulamā* of Transoxiana.[50]

The Economic Importance of Vaqf*: The Debate Continues*

Although the range of properties that could be conveyed to *vaqf* was broad, including commercial properties such as shops, warehouses, and mills, and even financial instruments such as those mentioned above, by far the vast majority of endowed properties in medieval Iran and Central Asia consisted of agricultural land. Arable fields or plots of land, vineyards, gardens (especially those containing fruit-bearing trees), and even entire villages and hamlets are the types of endowed properties (*mauqūfāt, musabbalāt*) that are best represented in endowment deeds from post-Mongol Iran and Central Asia. That agricultural land should represent the bulk of the properties belonging to endowments is understandable, given that it constituted the most widespread and valuable type of property in a medieval Islamic agrarian society. Another type of property that was closely associated with agricultural activity and frequently conveyed to *vaqf* was irrigation water, usually in the form of indivisible shares, as well as irrigation works such as dams, canals, and subterranean water channels or wells.[51] As pointed out by Gabriel Baer, what set the Islamic pious endowment apart from similar institutions is that it permitted the conveyance of indivisible shares in various kinds of properties, including irrigation water.[52]

Given the inadequate nature of the documentary record, it is not possible to determine with any certainty what percentage of landholding *vaqf* represented relative to other forms, such as private property,

[50] See, for example, the ruling (dated 902) on a lawsuit initiated by Zainab-Sulṭān in Herat, and the undated ruling on a lawsuit brought against an unnamed woman donor of a *madrasa* and *gunbad* in Herat, in ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-J̌avāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 177a–181a. A comparison may be made with Mamluk endowments from the same period—see Petry, "Class Solidarity," 130.

[51] For an example of a dam being conveyed to *vaqf*, see Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:199–200 where it is stated that the Salūmad dam in the region of Khvāf, which had originally been built by the Kart king Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad, was conveyed to a *vaqf* for Sulṭān-Ḥusain's pious foundations (*biqāʿi khairāt*) by his *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī. For this dam, see Clevenger, "Dams in Ḫorāsān," 393.

[52] See Baer, "The Muslim *Waqf*," 275. Although he does not specifically mention shares in irrigation water, these are well represented in endowment deeds from the Timurid period.

state land, and conditional land grants.[53] One of the ways to gain a very approximate idea of the extent of *vaqf* holdings is by analyzing the properties that are described in endowment deeds as abutting those that are being conveyed to *vaqf*. The deed of endowment of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wife Afaq Begim, which will be discussed in detail later on in this chapter, provides valuable information about landholding patterns in eastern Khorasan as a whole, and in the Herat region in particular. The abutting properties that are described in it may be regarded as fairly representative of the categories of landholding prevalent in Timurid Khorasan, especially in areas associated with high-end real estate values, since many of the individuals mentioned in connection with them were members of the political and religious elite of Timurid Herat.[54]

An analysis of the abutting properties in this endowment deed indicates that *vaqf* represented the second-largest category of landholding after private property (*milk*), constituting roughly 20 per cent of all the properties described. If all the lands held under rental agreements, which typically belonged to pious endowments, are taken into account, the figure increases to 30 per cent. *Vaqf* property is followed by state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*), which could either be leased or assigned as a revenue grant (*soyurghal, tiyul*), usually to the military.[55] The smallest categories of properties are dead lands (*mavāt*), which did not belong to anyone; communal or village lands; lands belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*); and lands belonging to the state treasury (*dīvānī*). Landholding in Timurid Khorasan thus appears to have been highly decentralized, and although *vaqf* was only one of several forms of landholding, it constituted a very important and, it would appear, growing category.

The question is whether *vaqf* was a satisfactory way of organizing and managing agricultural activity. The conventional view is that *vaqf* was

[53] For a discussion of the various forms of landholding in medieval Iran see Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," 499–524; and Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 233–83.

[54] Some of the individuals mentioned in the document as owning or having rights to abutting properties include the Timurids Shāhrukh and Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā, the son of Sulṭān-Ḥusain; ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī; the leading Timurid *amīr* Shujāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Burunduq Barlas; such elite women as Khanim Begim, the daughter of the Timurid Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, and Dāna Beki Agha, the granddaughter of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlīka Kökältash; and the *shaikh al-Islām* of Herat, Saif al-Dīn Aḥmad Taftāzānī.

[55] For the term *khāliṣa*, see chap. 6, p. 220 below. For the term *tiyul*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 2:667.

an obstacle to economic development and even to state-building.[56] *Vaqf* lands were not supposed to be as productive as lands that were privately owned, the chief explanation for this being that, since *vaqf* lands were usually leased for short terms of one to three years under a tenancy (*ijāra*) agreement, the lessee had no permanent interest in developing them, and simply exploited their resources.[57] But this stipulation may also be interpreted as protecting the lessor against having to incur the loss that would result from the contractually fixed rent falling below the market rent during the period of the lease.[58] Moreover, endowment deeds frequently contained the stipulation that lands were not to be rented out to persons who were in positions of power, from whom it might be difficult to collect the rental payment or who might use their positions to squander the revenues of the *vaqf*.[59]

Because *vaqf* land was usually taxed at a lower rate, or could even be exempted from taxation by special decree of the ruler, the revenues of properties that had been conveyed to *vaqf* were presumably prevented from being channelled into the state treasury, thus resulting in fiscal decentralization and indirectly contributing to the weakening of the political power of the state.[60] However, scholars have by now been disabused of the notion that *vaqf* was completely tax-exempt.[61] The decrees issued by rulers exempting certain public foundations or endowments established by politically important individuals from taxation (*nishān-i mu'āfī* or *musallamī*), which as a rule enumerate the various taxes that the endowed properties were liable for, is proof that *vaqf* properties did indeed pay taxes, many of which were even uncanonical.[62]

[56] Thus Rudolf Vesely, "Procès de la production et rôle du waqf dans les relations ville-campagne," in Deguilhem, *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique*, 241. See also Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré (Études safavides III)," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 5 (1988): 116.

[57] For the period of tenancy, see Birgitt Hoffmann, *Waqf im mongolischen Iran: Rašīduddīns Sorge um Nachruhm und Seelenheil* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 150; and Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 318.

[58] See Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 33–34.

[59] See Hoffmann, *Waqf*, 150; and Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 49, 52.

[60] On this point, see Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases," 485ff.

[61] See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Waḳf, iii. In Persia" (by Ann K. S. Lambton), 82; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 14–16.

[62] See, for example, the tax exemptions granted by Sulṭān-Ḥusain to the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh, to his brother-in-law Sulṭān-Aḥmad for the enclosure (*ḥazīra*) he built at the shrine, and to the convocation mosque of the village of Ziyāratgāh outside Herat, in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 139, 169–72; also "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 121b–123b.

The Timurid policy toward the taxation of endowments differed markedly in the second half of the fifteenth century from what it had been at the beginning of the century. We are offered an insight into early Timurid taxation practices with regard to endowments by al-Qāyinī, the prominent Hanafite jurist of Shāhrukh's time, who in his *Naṣā'iḥ-i Shāhrukhī* (completed in 820/1417) urged Shāhrukh to abolish the uncanonical, or extra-legal taxes (*qalanāt-i bīrūnī*), imposed on the *auqāf* of mosques, *madrasa*s, and other pious foundations, because, he says, "For this reason, many *madrasa*s in the country have lost their prestige and the workshop of knowledge has been damaged."[63] The policy of the later Timurids, however, largely exempted the pious foundations from the basic land tax (*māl va jihāt*) and administrative fees (*ikhrājāt-i dīvānī*), and it contrasted sharply with the extortionate policies of the Uzbeks toward the Timurid pious endowments at the time of their takeover of Herat in 913/1507.[64] Nevertheless, and this point cannot be overstressed, the exempted endowments still paid taxes, which, although considerably less than the basic land tax, were at least 10 per cent (*'ushr*) of the revenues and, most importantly, they represented a regular source of income for the state.

The overall negative assessment of *vaqf* was based mainly on the experience of the Ilkhanid period, which was a particularly difficult one in the history of Iranian agriculture, and it should not colour our investigation of the role of *vaqf* in the organization of agriculture in later periods.[65] Recently, scholars have begun to appreciate more fully the positive and even dynamic role that *vaqf* could and did play not just in the social but also in the economic life of medieval Islamic lands.[66] Studies that trace individual endowments over time on the basis of the legal record (e.g., deeds of endowment, lawsuits, court rulings, decrees of tax exemption, bills of purchase and sale), have demonstrated that *vaqf* was anything but a static institution.[67] To begin with, there was

[63] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣā'iḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fol. 200b.

[64] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:379, 4:382–83.

[65] Lambton surmises that other factors, such as those inspired by social and psychological needs (i.e., personal piety, the freedom to dispose of and manage one's own property, etc.) rather than economic motives, were responsible for the endurance of *vaqf* during the Ilkhanid period—see Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 318.

[66] See André Raymond, preface to Deguilhem, *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique*, 12; and Shatzmiller, "'Waqf Khayrī'," 200.

[67] See Deguilhem, *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique*, 15ff.; McChesney, *Waqf*, 5, 19–20; and Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity?" 95.

the expectation that the trustee would act in the best interests (*maṣlaḥat*) of the endowment.[68] The revenues from an existing foundation could be reinvested in it through the purchase of new properties; older endowments could be recapitalized; unprofitable endowed properties could be sold through a legal procedure that involved the "exchange" of properties (*istibdāl*); and entire endowed foundations could even be disestablished.[69]

The profit motive, which has generally been discounted by scholars in favour of a focus on the public welfare function of *vaqf*, also had to be strong if endowed properties were to be productive. Rather than functioning merely as a kind of "redistributive economy," *vaqf* had also to be subject to external market forces, although this varied greatly from location to location and depended upon whether the property in question was commercial real estate or agricultural land.[70] The so-called "fair rent" (*ujrat al-miṯl, ajr al-miṯl*) that was charged on endowed properties, for example, was determined by the average market level of rent that could be obtained for properties of comparable size and quality, and if the contractually fixed rent fell below the level of the fair rent, lease contracts were considered void and could be renegotiated.[71] Since deeds of endowment frequently refer to the surplus income that was to be used to add new income-producing properties to the endowment, there was clearly an expectation that the endowment would turn a profit from the rents collected on agricultural lands and from the income of commercial establishments such as mills, baths, etc. Another indication of the expectation of profit is that the trustee's salary (*ḥaqq al-tauliya*)

[68] McChesney, *Waqf*, 11–12.

[69] For some of these practices, see Lambton, "*Awqāf* in Persia," 302–4; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 27–28; and Lev, *Charity*, 159. Although technically speaking *vaqf* property could not be sold, it could be "exchanged" (i.e., sold) through the legal procedure called *istibdāl* if it was in the best interests of the endowment. On this point see McChesney, *Waqf*, 13 n. 39.

[70] The classic case of a redistributive economy has usually been assumed to be the funerary temple complex of ancient Egypt, which recycled agricultural revenues in the form of votive offerings to temple personnel and the surrounding support population. For a critique of this model, see Morris Silver, *Economic Structures of Antiquity* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995), 107–9. For the application of the model to the Islamic endowment, see McChesney, *Central Asia*, 77–80.

[71] See Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 33; and Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 455–56. This concept had been developed by the early Hanafite jurists specifically to counteract the economic disadvantages of the "contractually fixed rent" (*musammā*). For a study of the differential in rents on *vaqf* and non-*vaqf* commercial properties in Yazd in the twentieth century, see Bonine, "Islam and Commerce," 190ff.

was usually calculated as a fraction or percentage of the endowment's revenues, which fluctuated according to market conditions.

A History of Maladministration

The most compelling reasons for the perceived low productivity of *vaqf* lands must be sought in the related areas of maladministration and corruption, to which the institution appears to have been especially prone. References abound in the sources for the history of medieval Iran to the mismanagement of endowments by those appointed to administer them, and to the fact that their revenues often were not expended on the purposes for which they were designated.[72] In his *Kārnāma-i auqāf-i Khvāf*, which contains a scathing satire on the administration of *vaqf* in the region of Khvāf in the mid thirteenth century, the Ilkhanid poet Pūr-i Bahā advised intelligent individuals not to convey their private property to *vaqf* because the intentions of donors were never observed by the administrators, and to convey one's property to *vaqf* was tantamount to throwing it into excrement.[73] Even the poet Ḥāfiẓ took a satirical swipe at the administration of *auqāf* in the fourteenth century, complaining that the revenues from pious endowments were never spent on the poor for whom they were intended:

> Lo, though I have had to pawn my Sufi cloak in the tavern,
> Not a single penny of *vaqf* revenues will ever be designated for [someone like] me.[74]

State-appointed officials, such as the *ṣadr*, were not above embezzling or extorting funds from the endowed foundations they were charged with overseeing. ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī criticized corrupt *ṣadr*s whom he accused of financing their own pleasures with *vaqf* revenues that were supposed

[72] For other references to misappropriation and negligent administration during the Ilkhanid period, see Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 138; Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī (Tehran, 1339/1961), 480; and [Vaṣṣāf], *Taḥrīr-i Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* [*Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-aʿṣār*], ed. ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Āyatī ([Tehran], 1346/1967), 360 (624–25).

[73] See Birgitt Hoffmann, "Von falschen Asketen und 'unfrommen' Stiftungen," in *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, Held in Turin, September 7th–11th, 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, ed. Gherardo Gnoli and Antonio Panaino, pt. 2, *Middle and New Iranian Studies* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 472–73, lines 307–8, 478–79, line 352 (although read *milk* for *mulk*).

[74] Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān*, no. 471, line 3.

to be used for the stipends of *madrasa* students and teachers.[75] When the *ṣadr* of Shiraz invited Abū al-Qāsim Babur to the city to celebrate the completion of the construction of a mausoleum over the tomb of the poet Ḥāfiẓ, a wit reputedly wrote on the wall of the building, "Although he plundered all the pious endowments of the city, may God have mercy on [the *ṣadr*] for having erected this building."[76] In his survey of the state of *vaqf* holdings in Central Asia at the end of the nineteenth century, V. P. Nalivkin, a well-informed Russian government official, stated that the misuse of endowment funds by their trustees and the illegal sale of *vaqf* properties had become a commonplace occurrence.[77] More recently, the abuses of the trustees of the endowments of the 'Alid shrine at Mashhad, who used their offices as a means of enriching themselves at the expense of the shrine foundation, have been highlighted by Bernard Hourcade in his investigation of the role of *vaqf* in agricultural production in modern Iran.[78]

The success of agricultural activity on lands belonging to pious endowments depended first and foremost on the quality of their administration. This was particularly true of the intensive agriculture practiced in Khorasan, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, demanded accurate record-keeping and close supervision of the distribution of irrigation water. I propose to argue that it was the emphasis on financial accounting techniques in the administration of Timurid endowments that constituted the basis for the signal success of the Timurid agrarian economy.

Accountants and other financial functionaries were as much a part of the personnel of endowed foundations as were Sufi shaikhs, professors, and custodians. Financial officers of pious foundations kept records of income in the form of rents and produce, assessed crop yields, estimated

[75] See Alisher Navoi, *Vozliublennyi serdets*, 15; and Alisher Navoi, *Sochineniia* 10:15 ("Vozliublennyi serdets").

[76] Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 170–71; also Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois*, 53.

[77] V. P. Nalivkin, "Polozhenie vakufnago diela v Turkestanskom kraie do i poslie ego zavoevaniia," in *Ezhegodnik Ferganskoi oblasti* (Skobelev) 3 (1904): 27.

[78] See Bernard Hourcade, "*Vaqf* et modernité en Iran: Les agro-business de l'Âstân-e qods de Mašhad," in *Entre l'Iran et l'Occident: Adaptation et assimilation des idées et techniques occidentales en Iran*, ed. Yann Richard (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1989), 118. Also instructive are the early twentieth-century investigations of the administration of *auqāf* in India, which revealed the "unbridled rapacity of the attendants" of the Chishtī shrine. See P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; repr. ed., Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks, 1992), 171.

taxes, supervised disbursements, including the payment of stipends to foundation personnel, and produced the all-important financial statement (*nuskha-i jam' va kharj*).[79] For the most part, however, they have remained nameless in the sources, a notable exception being Qāsim b. Yūsuf, the author of the *Irshād al-zirā'a* and the *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, discussed earlier, who was employed as an accountant at the shrine complex of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī in Herat.

Many of the problems that had plagued the pious endowment in earlier periods were due simply to the lack of professional competence in the area of financial management. Pūr-i Bahā's satirical *Kārnāma-i auqāf-i Khwāf* makes frequent reference to the ignorance of accounting practices, including accountancy script (*siyāqat*) and the correct way of keeping ledger books, on the part of *vaqf* administrators during the Ilkhanid period.[80] It may be assumed that the administration of Timurid pious endowments replicated the financial accounting techniques that had been introduced into the Timurid bureaucracy by Khvāja Ghiyās al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khvāfī in the first half of the fifteenth century. Just as the offices of the state financial bureaucracy had become highly elaborated by the end of the fifteenth century, so too did those connected with the administration of the pious foundations. Among the financial officials responsible for the administration of public endowments (*'ummāl al-vaqf*), for example, the Timurid chancery manual *Makhzan al-inshā'* lists, besides the *mutavallī-i 'āmm*, the *mushrif-i vaqf* and the *ṣāḥib-jam'-i vaqf*.[81]

[79] No ledger books or financial statements have survived from any of the endowments of the Timurid period, probably because they were private documents and donors/trustees often explicitly prohibited government officials from gaining access to them. For example, Gauharshād Begim's deed of endowment prohibits functionaries of the financial administration (*'ummāl*) and bookkeepers (*ṣāḥib-daftarān*) from requesting the financial statement (*nuskha-i jam' va kharj*) of her endowments for the *masjid-i jāmi'* she built at the 'Alid shrine in Mashhad—see 'Azīzullāh 'Uṭāridī, *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds-i Riżavī*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1371/1993), 2:753 (with a corrected reading from the Mashhad MS). For the financial statements of the shrine of Fāṭima at Qum, dating from the late nineteenth century, see [Ḥusain] Mudarrisī-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Turbat-i pākān: Āṣār va banāhā-yi qadīm-i maḥdūda-i kunūnī-i Dār al-mu'minīn-i Qum*, 2 vols. ([Qum], 1395–96/1975–76), 1:368–69, no. 147.

[80] See Hoffmann, "Von falschen Asketen," 464–67, lines 267–70.

[81] Kāshifī, *Makhzan al-inshā'*, fol. 36b.

The Timurid Documentary Record

It is unfortunate that so few deeds of endowment (*vaqfiyya, vaqf-nāma*) relating to the core region of Khorasan have survived from the Timurid period as compared, for example, with Mamluk Egypt of the same period.[82] Those that are extant and that have been preserved in manuscript repositories, primarily in Iran and Uzbekistan, consist of only a handful of documents. It does not appear that any endowment deeds have survived in Afghanistan, although it is possible that the archives of the major Timurid shrine complexes at Gāzurgāh and Mazar-i Sharif still retain copies of their charter deeds, but traditionally these have been jealously guarded by their trustees and custodians and are effectively inaccessible to researchers.[83] It would have been extremely useful to have at our disposal family archives comparable to the sixteenth-century notarial archive of the Jūybārī shaikhly family of Bukhara, but to date none have come to light for Timurid Khorasan.[84]

I have provided in appendix 1 a descriptive list of the extant endowment deeds, both from Khorasan and Transoxiana, that either date from the Timurid period or are pertinent to it. As for the period of

[82] For the extent of the Mamluk record, which comprises over 200 endowment deeds dating from the mid thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, see Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity?" 96. For the fifteenth century in particular, see Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire: De 239/853 à 922/1516 (depuis le IIIe/IXe siècle jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mamlouke) suivi de l'édition critique de neuf documents* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1981), 15ff., 91ff.

[83] Neither of the studies of these shrines has succeeded in locating or utilizing documents from their archives. In her study of the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh, Lisa Golombek mentions a *vaqf-nāma* dated 905/1500 that was found on location at the shrine—see Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969), 88. However, this refers only to an inscription at the entrance to the shrine that lists, in a general way, the endowments made to it by the Timurid *amīr* Shujāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Burunduq Barlas, for which see Fikrī Saljūqī, *Gāzurgāh* (Kabul, 1341/1962), 26–28. In his study of the ʿAlid shrine at Balkh, McChesney assumes that its charter deed of endowment has not survived, but he does not rule out the possibility that endowment deeds pertaining to the shrine may have been preserved by its administrators—see McChesney, *Waqf*, 39, 71 n. 66, 287 n. 41.

[84] For the importance of family and notarial archives, see Pierre Hurtubise, "Archives notariales et archives familiales: Le cas des archives Salviati," in *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Paolo Brezzi and Egmont Lee (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 163–64. For the Jūybārī archive, see *Iz arkhiva sheikhov Dzhuibari: Materialy po zemel'nym i torgovym otnosheniiam Sr. Azii XVI veka*, ed. [F. B. Rostopchin] and E. É. Bertel's (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1938); and P. P. Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov: K istorii feoldal'nogo zemlevladeniia v Srednei Azii v XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1954).

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's rule, there are in fact only two extant deeds of endowment that directly pertain to it: (1) the *Vaqfiyya* of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, which describes his endowments to the Ikhlāṣiyya complex in Herat, and which is not a legal document but a literary work, and (2) the *vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim for her mausoleum in Herat, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the only original deed of endowment dating from the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusain. A detailed discussion of these two important documentary sources will be followed by an assessment of the role played by financial management in the administration of their endowed properties.

The Vaqfiyya *of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī*

The *Vaqfiyya* of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, as already indicated, is not a legal document but a literary work in Chaghatay Turkish (composed in 886/1481–82), that contains a summary of a number of Persian deeds of endowment relating to the large architectural complex built in Herat by this outstanding patron and Timurid cultural figure.[85] The complex, known as the Ikhlāṣiyya, was intended, however, only as an illustration of the many educational and charitable foundations

[85] The earliest and best manuscript copy of the *Vaqfiyya* is ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, [*Kulliyāt*], MS, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Khanykov 55 (copied 904/1499), fols. 111b–118b; the summary proper is found on fols. 115a–118b. For a description of the manuscript, see S. L. Volin, "Opisanie rukopisei proizvedenii Navoi v leningradskikh sobraniiakh," in *Alisher Navoi: Sbornik statei*, ed. A. K. Borovkov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1946), 231, XVI (1) and 232, XVII (1); and Ol'ga Vasil'eva, "Spiski proizvedenii Alishera Navoi v Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteke im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina," *Adabii meros* (Tashkent) 1986, no. 3 (37): 20. An edition of the *Vaqfiyya* in modern Uzbek transcription was published by P. Shamsiev and A. Kaiumov, together with Uzbek and Russian translations, in Alisher Navoii, *Vaqfiia*, ed. I. Shamsimukhamedov (Tashkent: Fan, 1991). The edition supposedly corrects an earlier abridged version in modern Uzbek transcription—see "Vaqfiia," ed. Porso Shamsiev, in Alisher Navoii, *Asarlar* 13:157–80. An abridged version in modern Turkish transcription was published by Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ali Şir Nevaî*, 4 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965–68), 4:27–36. A Persian translation by Ismāʿīl Amīr Khīzī was published by ʿAlī Asghar Ḥikmat in the introduction to his edition of two medieval Persian translations of ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, xx–xxv. Unfortunately, many scholars have preferred this faulty Persian translation over the Uzbek and Turkish transcriptions. A full facsimile of the St. Petersburg manuscript, Khanykov 55, was published in my "*Vaqfiya* of Mīr ʿAlī Šīr," 272–86, and a partial facsimile in my "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 57–61. In both articles I also consulted another early manuscript copy of the *Vaqfiyya*, MS, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Tur. n.s. 56 (dated 934/1527–28), fols. 200b–224b.

he established throughout Khorasan. The work as a whole represents in effect an apologia in which ʿAlīshīr seeks to portray himself as an overburdened and generally reluctant public servant dedicated to the welfare of the Muslim community. The real subject of the *Vaqfiyya* was thus not the summary of his endowment deeds, but rather ʿAlīshīr's personal cultural legacy, which he was conveying metaphorically as an endowment to the Timurid state and society in a period of political uncertainty brought on by the Majd al-Dīn episode.[86]

In view of his role in the Timurid fiscal crisis that Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad's reforms were designed to alleviate, ʿAlīshīr's description of this highly visible foundation may have served as a justification for the expenditures connected with its establishment. At the same time, however, the conveyance of his personal property to *vaqf* would have preserved it from confiscation by the state should Majd al-Dīn's reforms have been successfully implemented. In many respects, ʿAlīshīr's *Vaqfiyya* may be compared to the *vaqf-nāma* of the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn for the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī complex. Both men were highly visible political and cultural figures; both established large charitable and educational foundations, that included their own mausolea, in the vicinity of the capital cities of the dynastic rulers they served; both were implicated in the financial troubles of their respective polities; and both prefaced their deeds of endowment (or in ʿAlīshīr's case, the summary of these deeds) with long introductions with an apologetic intent.[87]

ʿAlīshīr's complex, which was constructed in Herat some time during the period 881–86/1476–82, was centred on the architectural ensemble of a *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* that faced each other over the Injīl canal and that were called, respectively, Ikhlāṣiyya and Khalāṣiyya. Interestingly enough, it was located on the former site of a Nestorian Christian church and monastery.[88] Also included in the complex were

[86] See Subtelny, "*Vaqfiya* of Mīr ʿAlī Šīr," 257–71; Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Timurid Apologia as Political Testament," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 14, no. 1 (1990): 71–73.

[87] See Birgitt Hoffmann, "The Gates of Piety and Charity: Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh as Founder of Pious Endowments," in Aigle, *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, 190, 197ff.; and Hoffmann, *Waqf*, 241–47. For the comparison with Rashīd al-Dīn, see Maria E. Subtelny, Review of *Waqf im mongolischen Iran: Rašīduddīns Sorge um Nachruhm und Seelenheil*, by Birgitt Hoffmann, *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 277–78.

[88] See Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 42–43, 55. For the Timurid tendency to pair a *madrasa* with a *khānaqāh* in a single architectural ensemble, see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 23–25; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:48.

a mosque called Qudsiyya, a bath called Ṣafāʾiyya, a hospital called Shifāʾiyya, and a personal residence called Unsiyya.[89] According to the *Vaqfiyya*, there were mausolea (*gunbad*) located in both the *madrasa* and the *khānaqāh*.[90] Buried in the *madrasa*, in the domed chamber referred to as *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*, which denoted a place for the continuous recitation of the Qurʾān, was the well-known literary figure of Herat, Mīr Ḥusain Muʿammāʾī.[91] It may be that the mausoleum located inside the *khānaqāh* was intended for ʿAlīshīr himself.[92] There are no remaining traces of the architectural complex.

According to the *Vaqfiyya*, the endowed properties consisted of approximately twenty-six commercial structures, primarily shops (*dukkān*) and shopping arcades (*tīm, tīmcha*), located for the most part in or near the Malik Bazaar, the largest of Herat's markets; and a large number of agricultural properties and irrigation canals in the central district of Injīl as well as in other districts of the Herat region.[93] Based on the size of the individual agricultural properties, it is possible to calculate the total area represented by the various categories of agricultural land, which came to approximately 158 *jarīb*s of orchard-garden (*bāgh*), seventy-nine *jarīb*s of vineyard, and 282 *jarīb*s of land belonging to an unspecified category, for a grand total of 519 *jarīb*s. If we take the *jarīb* to be roughly equivalent to 0.625 acres, the total area of the agricultural properties that were donated by ʿAlīshīr to his foundation was approximately 325 acres, which does not include those properties whose area is not provided in figures (such as the entire village of Gul).[94]

[89] For the location and description of the complex, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 42ff.

[90] See Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 45, 47. For the term *gunbad* (also *gunbaḏ*), which designated a domed mausoleum and which was the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *qubba*, see Leisten, *Architektur für Toten*, 74–75; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:75, 1:469; also O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 49–54.

[91] See Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 47. For the location of the *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* in a mausoleum, see Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 62; and Hoffmann, *Waqf*, 123.

[92] Babur suggests that ʿAlīshīr's tomb (*maqbara*) was located in his mosque, but this seems unlikely—see Babur, *Babur-nāma*, 191b; Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 306. In fact, ʿAlīshīr may have been buried in the mausoleum he had constructed for himself at the Anṣārī shrine to which he retired in his old age, possibly inside the *khānaqāh* he also built there—see Subtelny, "Cult of ʿAbullāh Anṣārī," 398.

[93] For a full description of the endowed properties, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 51ff.

[94] See Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 53–54. In fifteenth-century Khorasan, the *jarīb* (= *ṭanāb* in Central Asia) measured sixty by sixty *gaz*—see Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:329. The size of the *gaz*, however, varied greatly

The foundation was to be managed by a trustee (*mutavallī*), a financial overseer (*mushrif*), and a chief financial officer (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ*), who were to produce a financial statement (*jamʿ va kharj nuskhasi*). In addition, two trusted aides (*nökär*) were to assist the trustee in managing agricultural activity on the lands belonging to the endowment.[95] ʿAlīshīr states that he personally appointed a trustee, but the individual is unfortunately not named.[96] It does not appear to have been ʿAlīshīr himself, despite the fact that the foundation was widely regarded as having been closely associated with his person.[97] It may have been a close associate like the *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī, whom he appointed trustee of the endowments he established for the shrine of Abū al-Valīd Aḥmad at Āzādān.[98] Interestingly enough, the trustee's salary was in the form of a fixed amount (2,000 *kapakī dīnārs*) rather than a percentage of the revenues, which was more customary.[99] The *vaqf* was clearly not of the family-type, since ʿAlīshīr remained celibate his entire life, and he purposely conveyed all of his property to *vaqf* to preserve it from potential inheritors.

Although ʿAlīshīr's complex comprised a number of buildings, only the activities relating to the *madrasa-khānaqāh* ensemble and the mosque are described in the *Vaqfiyya*, with the following provisions being made for the payment of salaries and stipends to the personnel connected with them:[100]

according to geographical region and time period. See [Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery*, 63–64, 73; and Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 125–30. My estimate of the area of the *jarīb* is based on Chekhovich's understanding that it was roughly equivalent to one-quarter of a hectare, which equals five-eighths (0.625) of an acre—see O. D. Chekhovich, ed. and trans., *Samarkandskie dokumenty XV–XVI vv.: O vladeniiakh Khodzhi Akhrāra v Srednei Azii i Afganistane* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 24. In more recent times, the *jarīb* in the Harirud valley was equivalent to 0.1936 hectare (with approximately five *jarībs* to a hectare)—see McLachlan, "Kariz in the Herat Basin," 263.

[95] ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Vaqfiyya*, fol. 118a; and Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 49. The Turkic term *nökär* is used here in the Persian sense, to mean *naukar*, i.e., an aide.

[96] ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, *Vaqfiyya*, fol. 118b; see also Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 49.

[97] The Ikhlāṣiyya was often simply referred to as "ʿAlīshīr's *madrasa*," and the Khalāṣiyya as his personal (*khāṣṣa*) *khānaqāh*—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:343, 4:341.

[98] See Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, app., 134.

[99] Given his rather ascetic lifestyle, ʿAlīshīr's stipulation of a modest set salary for the trustee would not have been out of character.

[100] For the activities and personnel connected with the *madrasa, khānaqāh*, and mosque, and for a rough estimate of the minimum income of the endowment, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 46ff., 54ff.

Table of the Salaries and Stipends of the Personnel of the Ikhlāṣiyya Complex of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī in Herat

Post	No. persons	Annual stipend	
		In cash[101]	In kind[102]
Trustee (*mutavallī*)	1	2,000	20
Professors (*mudarris*)	2	1,200	24
Shaikh	1	1,000	10
Preacher (*vāʿiẓ*)	1	500	10
Imām-khaṭīb	1	500	10
Mushrif	1	500	5
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ	1	500	5
Aides (*nökär*)	2	500	5?
Qurʾān reciters (*ḥāfiẓ*):	6 (total)		
lead reciter	1	500	15
others	5	180	4
Students:	22 (total)		
advanced	6	[288][103]	5
intermediate	8	[192]	4
beginners	8	[144]	3
Cook (*ṭabbākh*)	1	280	5
Server (*ṭabaqchī*)	1	200	5
Caretaker (*farrāsh*)	1	200	5
Custodians (*khādim*)	2	200	5
Qurʾān reader (*muqrī*)	1	200	5

The Vaqfiyya *of Afaq Begim*

The *vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim is the only extant charter deed of endowment dating from the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's rule in Herat.[104] The

[101] In *altins* (i.e., *kapakī dīnārs*).

[102] In *yük* (i.e., *kharvār*), or assloads, of 100 *mann* each.

[103] Square brackets denote the annual amount of the monthly salary or stipend.

[104] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim for her mausoleum in Herat, MS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I-323, no. 1427. The description of the document by [I. Miradylov], *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Uzbekskoi SSR, Fond I-323: Kollektsiia vakufnykh dokumentov* (TS, Tashkent, 1983), opis' 1, kn. 2 (1298–1921 gg.), no. 1427, is inaccurate. The ruling on a lawsuit against the endowment that, in accordance with Persian chancery practice, had been attached to the beginning of the deed of endowment, was interpreted by Miradylov as constituting an integral part of the deed itself. He thus conflated the contents of the two documents, and although he correctly identified Afaq Begim as the donor, he stated that she was acting on behalf of Fāṭima-Sulṭān Aghaja, who was in fact the plaintiff in the lawsuit. He also misread the

donor, Afaq Begim, was one of the wives of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, and she established the endowment for her own mausoleum located in the Royal *madrasa* complex in Herat.[105] Dated 29 Ṣafar 912/July 22, 1506, the year before the fall of the Timurid dynasty, it epitomizes the Timurid mixed endowment which blended charitable and public welfare concerns with private benefit. Because of the high profile of the donor, the large number of endowed properties, and the many conditions stipulated by the donor, the document is of great importance for the study of *vaqf* in late Timurid Khorasan. An annotated translation of the endowment deed is presented in appendix 2, together with a facsimile edition. Appended to the deed of endowment are two confirmatory rulings issued in response to pro forma claims.[106] Such claims were usually

date of the deed as 920/1514–15. Scholarly study of the document by Soviet Uzbek researchers has been just as confused and confusing. M. A. Abduraimov, who also dated it to 920/1514, described it as the deed of endowment for the mausoleum of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara—see M. A. Abduraimov, *Ocherki agrarnykh otnoshenii v Bukharskom khanstve v XVI–pervoi polovine XIX veka*, 2 vols. (Tashkent: Fan, 1966–70), 2:21 n. 66. M. Iu. Iunuskhodzhaeva published a series of short articles about the document that abound in misleading generalizations and inaccuracies. In an abstract entitled "K voprosu o zemel'nykh otnosheniiakh v Khorasane nachala XVI veka (Po vakfnoi gramote)," she did not even mention the name of the donor, the date, or the object of the endowment. In her "Tarikh sakhifalaridan . . .," she incorrectly stated that the endowment was established by ʿAlīka Kökältash and that it consisted of "more than 2,000 (sic) plots of land"; in her "Vaqfnāma-i muvarrakh-i 912 H. marbūṭ-i Harāt," she repeated that the document had originally been drawn up in the name of ʿAlīka Kökältash, but that it was "renewed" several decades later; her "Ob odnom maloizuchennom dokumente po istorii severnogo Afganistana XV–nachala XVI v.," published a decade later, repeated the same erroneous analysis; and finally, in an abstract entitled "Vakfname XV veka," she only further confused the issue. Following Miradylov, she misinterpreted the ruling on the lawsuit as constituting an integral part of the endowment deed, and she conflated the contents of these two separate documents. In his partial edition of the endowment deed, the Afghan scholar Māyil Haravī, also tried to harmonize the contents of the two documents, with the same unfortunate results. See Māyil Haravī, "Vaqfnāma-i buzurg-i muvarrikha-i 912 H.Q.," *Āryānā* (Kabul) 30, no. 5 (1972): 9–25.

[105] She is not to be confused with Afaq Bike Jalayir, who was the wife of Amīr Darvīsh-ʿAlī Kökältash, the brother of ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī—see Szuppe, "Female Intellectual Milieu," 129. It is interesting to note that, in the mid sixteenth century, the Jūybārī shaikhs of Bukhara claimed a spurious genealogical connection to the Timurids through a niece of Afaq Begim's, who was also named Afaq Bike (or Beki)—see Bakhtyar Babajanov and Maria Szuppe, eds. and trans., *Les inscriptions persanes de Chār Bakr, nécropole familiale des khwāja Jūybārī près de Boukhara* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, on behalf of Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum and Institut Français d'Études sur l'Asie Centrale, 2002), 27.

[106] The two confirmatory rulings are dated 7 Rabīʿ I 912/July 28, 1506 (henceforth, *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Confirmatory ruling no. 1), and 18 Rabīʿ I 912/August 8, 1506 (henceforth, *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Confirmatory ruling no. 2), that is, seven and eighteen days, respectively, after the date of notarization of the deed of endowment.

brought against an endowment soon after its certification in order to obtain a court ruling confirming the endowed status of the properties, thereby discouraging any real claims against the *vaqf*.[107] Attached to the beginning of the endowment deed is a ruling on an actual lawsuit that had been brought against the endowment.[108]

The donor

Because the introductory part of the document where the donor's name is usually mentioned is missing, Afaq Begim's name does not actually appear in the endowment deed. There is no doubt, however, that she is the donor referred to in the remaining portion of the document as "Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor."[109] Her mausoleum is described as being part of the Royal *madrasa* complex that had been built by her husband Sulṭān-Ḥusain in Herat.[110] Sulṭān-Ḥusain's full name and royal titles are given in this connection, along with the statement that it was he who had established the initial endowment for her mausoleum.[111] Conclusive evidence is provided by the occurrence of Afaq Begim's name in the two confirmatory rulings appended to the endowment deed and dated the same year (i.e., 912/1506).[112] Afaq Begim's name also appears in the ruling on a lawsuit attached to the beginning of the endowment deed, which bears the seal of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was co-regent in Herat with his brother Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā after their father's death the previous year (i.e.,

[107] There is an explicit reference to this practice in Afaq Begim's *vaqfiyya*, one of the conditions of which stipulates that, every ten years, the deed of endowment be brought before a Sharīʿa court and the endowed status of the properties confirmed by means of a pro forma claim (*daʿvā*)—see *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 189–90. See also R. D. McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh: The *Vaqfiya* of 947/1540," in *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 2001), 226, lines 169–70.

[108] For the ruling on a lawsuit (henceforth, *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Ruling on a lawsuit), see below.

[109] For the first reference, see *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 34.

[110] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 178.

[111] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 174–78.

[112] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Confirmatory ruling no. 1, lines 83, 176; and Confirmatory ruling no. 2, line 5. Her honorific title, "the Exalted cradle," had also been applied to other Timurid women, including Shāhrukh's wife Gauharshād, and Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's daughter. See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 86, 124. The title did not necessary imply that the woman bore children—see Soucek, "Tīmūrid Women," 203.

911/1506).[113] Finally, the imprint of Afaq Begim's seal, containing her name and filiation, which reads "Afaq Beki, daughter of Amīr Ḥasan," occurs six times in the above-mentioned documents.[114]

Afaq Begim (d. ca. 934/1527–28) was the daughter of Amīr Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Charkas, who belonged to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household guard corps and was one of his great *amīr*s.[115] He was one of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's earliest supporters who joined him at the very beginning of his period of *qazaqliq*, or political vagabondage. It was he who brought the Iränji *ortaq* into Sulṭān-Ḥusain's service, in 861/1457, right after Sulṭān-Ḥusain's ouster from Marv, apparently as the head of the trading partnership's security force. It will also be recalled that, as a reward for his services, Sulṭān-Ḥusain conferred upon him the rank of *amīr* and married his daughter Afaq Begim.[116] In the list of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wives in the Timurid genealogical history *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, Afaq Begim's name is prominently recorded, and although she had no children by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, she appears to have been held in high esteem.[117]

Calling her Apaq Begim,[118] which is in fact the proper Turkic form of her name, Babur states that he personally met her in 912/1506, about six months after Sulṭān-Ḥusain's death, when he came to Herat to visit his cousins Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, the sons of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who were co-regents at the time.[119] She received him

[113] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Ruling on a lawsuit, lines 9, 53, and 49 (for Muẓaffar-Ḥusain's seal).

[114] For her seal, see app. 2, pp. 258, 315.

[115] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Ruling on a lawsuit, lines 8–13 (where he is referred to as a *muqarrab*); and *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 156b (*Afaq Begim, dukhtar-i Amīr Ḥasan-i Amīr Charkas*).

[116] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:117; and chap. 2, p. 54 above.

[117] See *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 156b; and Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 25, no. 1.6.1.5 (d), although he incorrectly gives her father's name as Ḥusain.

[118] See Babur, *Babur-nāma*, 169b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 268–69. The name, which derives from the intensive form of the word *aq* (white), meaning "very white-[faced]," refers to this traditional mark of beauty for which the Turks were admired. It appears to have been especially popular among the Qipchaq Turks—see E. È. Bertel's, "Kak zvali pervuiu zhenu Nizami?" in *Akademiku Vladimiru Alekandrovichu Gordlevskomu k ego semidesiatipiatiletiiu: Sbornik statei*, ed. N. A. Baskakov et al. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1953), 65–66; and Tourkhan Gandjeï, "Turkish in Pre-Mongol Persian Poetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 73–74.

[119] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 188a–b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 301. Sulṭān-Ḥusain died on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 911/May 5, 1506, and Babur's visit to Herat took place between 8 Jumādā II and 7 Sha'bān 912 (i.e., between October 26 and December 23, 1506). For Babur's relationship to Sulṭān-Ḥusain, see Subtelny, "Bābur's Rival Relations," 109.

at Sulṭān-Ḥusain's tomb in the Royal *madrasa*, in the company of two other widows of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's, Pāyanda-Sulṭān Begim and Khadīja Begim (see fig. 7).[120] In 932/1525 she visited Babur in Kabul, at which time she was Sulṭān-Ḥusain's only surviving widow.[121] She must have died soon afterwards, since Babur recorded the news of her death at the time of his siege of Chandiri, in 934/1527–28.[122]

The endowed foundation and its location

Afaq Begim established the endowment for the maintenance of her mausoleum (*gunbad*), built for her by her husband Sulṭān-Ḥusain, as well as for the visitors (*zuvvār*) to it and the activities connected with it. According to the description in the deed, the mausoleum was a separate building located on the north side of what is referred to as the Royal southern *madrasa*, situated on the Injīl canal, just north of the walled city of Herat. Afaq Begim's mausoleum was connected to her husband's, which was housed in the *madrasa*, by means of a separate corridor or passageway.[123] This supports the supposition that, under the Timurids,

[120] For these women, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 25, nos. 1.6.1.5 (b), 1.6.1.5 (f). Afaq Begim is not actually depicted in this miniature painting, which is from a sixteenth-century Persian translation of the *Babur-nāma* in which her name was for some reason omitted.

[121] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 169b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 269. See also Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:321.

[122] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 169b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 269.

[123] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 175–78. For a reference to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's burial in the *madrasa*, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:310. Excavations conducted during the 1970s uncovered an engraved black marble tombstone, popularly believed to be that of Sulṭān-Ḥusain; however, the inscription on it apparently contains the name of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's father, Manṣūr, who is known to have been buried at Gāzurgāh (and in fact there is a very similar tombstone located there, also bearing the name of Manṣūr). For a discussion of this problem, and a reading of the inscription, see Fikrī Saljūqī, *Khiyābān* ([Kabul], 1343/1964), 52ff.; also Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:314. Discovered at the base of one of the minarets of the *madrasa*, precisely where the mausoleum was to have been located, was a black tombstone, whose inscription deserves to be studied more carefully—see [Andrea Bruno et al.], *Restoration of Monuments in Herat*, Technical Report, Afghanistan, UNDP/AFG/75/022, FMR/CLT/CH/81/286 (UNDP) ([Paris]: UNESCO, 1981), 26. I am grateful to Lisa Golombek for her help in determining the location of the mausoleum. Besides the tombs of Sulṭān-Ḥusain and Afaq Begim, there were a number of other burials in the *madrasa*, including those of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sister, Badī' al-Jamāl Begim, and his sons Shāh Gharīb Mīrzā and Ḥaidar Muḥammad—see Saljūqī, *Khiyābān*, 55–56; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:257.

husband and wife were not customarily buried together in the same mausoleum.[124] The *madrasa* faced a *khānaqāh* across the Injīl canal, and the two buildings, each of which was flanked by two minarets, formed an impressive architectural ensemble.[125] As noted earlier, the pairing of *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* had become a characteristic feature of Timurid architectural design, as was the inclusion of a domed mausoleum (*gunbad*) in both structures, especially the *madrasa*.[126] Also adjacent to the *madrasa* were a bath and a caravanserai, which also had been built and endowed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain.[127] Except for the four minarets, which were restored during the late 1970s, and the ruins of the *madrasa*, which were partially excavated at that time, almost nothing remains of the complex today.[128]

[124] Shāhrukh was originally buried in the *madrasa*-mausoleum complex of his wife Gauharshād in Herat, but his body was later transferred to the Gūr-i Amīr in Samarqand.

[125] For a description of the ensemble in contemporary sources, see Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 195; Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 174–75 (where he states that the ensemble belonged to the *auqāf-i humāyūn*, or royal endowments); Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 188b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 301. Architectural historians have often ignored the existence of the *khānaqāh*, ascribing all four minarets to the *madrasa*—see Allen, *Catalogue*, 143ff., no. 491; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 339ff.; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:314, no. 77. For a depiction of the layout of the complex, see Andrea Bruno, *The Citadel and the Minarets of Herat*, Technical Report, Afghanistan, UNDP/AFG/75/022/A/01/13 ([Paris]: UNESCO, 1976), 35.

Given the general west-east orientation of the buildings, and bearing in mind the usual ambiguities arising from references to cardinal points in medieval sources, the southern *madrasa* must have housed Sulṭān-Ḥusain's tomb. It is sometimes also referred to as the western *madrasa* (*madrasa-i gharbī*), which accords with its western location. See Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 195. The *khānaqāh* is sometimes referred to as the Royal eastern *madrasa* (*madrasa-i sharqī-i sulṭānī*). In fact, the entire ensemble was sometimes referred to simply as "the two *madrasas*"—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:310. The date of completion of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *madrasa* is usually given as 898/1492–93—see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 339; Saljūqī, *Khiyābān*, 11; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:314, no. 77.

[126] Examples of individuals who, during the fifteenth century, were buried in the *gunbad* of a *madrasa* they had built include Amīr 'Alīka Kökältash (Herat); Gauharshād, the wife of Shāhrukh (Herat); Malikat Agha, the wife of Shāhrukh (Balkh); Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh (Herat); and Bike-Sulṭān Begim, the mother of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā (Herat). See O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 21–22. A notable example from the pre-Timurid period of a mausoleum in a *madrasa* is that of Rukn al-Dīn in the Rukniyya *madrasa* in Yazd, which dates from the first half of the fourteenth century—see Renata Holod-Tretiak, "The Monuments of Yazd, 1300–1450: Architecture, Patronage and Setting" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 34ff.

[127] Khvāndamīr, *Ma'āṣir al-mulūk*, 175. For the location of the bath near one of the minarets of the *madrasa*, see Bruno et al., *Restoration of Monuments*, 74.

[128] The excavations were conducted during 1977–79 by a team of UNESCO experts as part of UNDP Project AFG/75/022 ("Strengthening Government's Capability for the Preservation of Historical Monuments"). See Bruno et al., *Restoration of Monuments*, 25–26, 102; and Bruno, *The Citadel and the Minarets*, 34ff. Unfortunately, the endowment deeds for the *madrasa*, *khānaqāh*, and other structures have not survived, although the texts of several documents relating to the personnel of the *madrasa* have. See the diploma of appointment issued to a Kamāl al-Dīn Baba Maḥmūd, who was the custodian (*khādim*) and sweeper (*jārūbkash*), in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 275–77.

Trustee of the endowment

Afaq Begim designated herself as trustee of the endowment for the duration of her lifetime.[129] Since she was childless, she could not name her descendants to succeed her as trustee, and instead she stated that she would appoint someone to assume the trusteeship after her death, although this individual is not named in the deed of endowment.[130] The amount of the trustee's salary (*ḥaqq al-tauliya*) is also not mentioned, although in keeping with customary practice, it would have been a percentage of the endowment income.[131] As in the case of the appointment of the trustee, it appears that this too was to be decided by the donor at some future date.[132] The authority of Afaq Begim as trustee was to be much broader than that of subsequent trustees, who were to act in strict conformity with the conditions she laid down in the endowment deed. In fact, Afaq Begim specifically indicated that the trustee was not to regard anything she did during her tenure as trustee as precedent-setting.[133] According to the deed, she had the right to dispose of the endowed properties and their revenues in any way she wished, to alter any of the conditions, to exchange one expenditure for another, and even to change the object of endowment (*mauqūf 'alaihi*), as well as to appoint and dismiss personnel, change the amount of their stipends, etc.[134]

Date of establishment and motives of the donor

The endowment deed, which was notarized by the chief qadi of Herat, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Imāmī, is dated 29

[129] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 179.

[130] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 185.

[131] Compare the deed of endowment of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim in Samarqand, according to which the trustee's salary was to be 20 per cent of the income, but only 5 per cent if the individual was not related to her—see app. 1, pp. 253–54.

[132] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 186.

[133] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 203–4. For the same stipulation in the *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 205, 298.

[134] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 180–83.

Ṣafar 912/July 22, 1506.[135] This was only about two and a half months after Sulṭān-Ḥusain's death on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 911/May 5, 1506.[136] At the time, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sons, Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar-Ḥusain, were co-regents in Herat, and the former is referred to by name in the deed, together with the title *pādshāh-i Islām*.[137]

Although the first part of the document is missing, it may be assumed that Afaq Begim expressed the usual pious intentions that were customarily listed by a donor in the preamble to a deed of endowment. We may, however, speculate about her immediate motives, as these fit a discernible pattern in the eastern Islamic world, whereby royal widows, who were almost invariably of Turko-Mongolian background, established large endowments for their own or for a family mausoleum soon after the death of a husband. This practice appears to have built upon an already well-established tradition linking women of Turkic background with commemorative funerary architecture.[138] Besides the cases already adduced and those that will be discussed later on in this chapter, we may mention, by way of example from the pre-Timurid period, the endowment established by Qutluq Tärkän Khatun, the widow of the Qara Khitayid ruler of Kerman Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad

[135] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 309, and his signature following line 317. For the Imāmī family, which had held the judgeship of Herat since Kartid times, including Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 878/1474) and Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 891/1486), see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:105, 4:335–37; and Maria Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides: Questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1992), 71–72. For the diplomas of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad's appointment as chief judge of Herat, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 111–15; and "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," 84b–86b (where he is also referred to as "Qāżī Mīrakī"). His date of death is unknown, but he appears to have been appointed to office in 902/1496–97, the date inscribed in his seal, for which see app. 2, pp. 258, 312. He may have succeeded the chief judge Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 900/1494), for whom see Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 208–9.

[136] As given in Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:319.

[137] Thus in *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 167.

[138] It has been estimated that approximately 20 per cent of all funerary structures built in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, for example, were commissioned by women—see Bates, "Women as Patrons," 245–46. For the role of women in the construction of funerary architecture in Damascus, see Humphreys, "Women as Patrons," 35–37.

(d. 655/1257), for the *madrasa*-mausoleum complex she built at Bardsīr.[139] This trend appears to have continued into the Safavid period.[140]

The political uncertainty following the sudden death of Sulṭān-Ḥusain in Dhū al-Ḥijja 911, the uneasy co-regency in Herat of his sons, Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar-Ḥusain, and the looming Uzbek invasion of Khorasan, which began only a few weeks later at the beginning of Muḥarram 912/May 24, 1506,[141] must thus have been motivating factors for Afaq Begim's conveyance of her extensive private holdings to *vaqf*. Her worst fears were realized when, in Muḥarram 913/May 1507, about ten months after the establishment of the endowed foundation, the Uzbeks captured Herat and seized the possessions of all of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wives and daughters.[142]

Afaq Begim's endowments are comparable to two other near-contemporary endowments established in Central Asia by royal women in the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries: the endowments of Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim, widow of the Timurid Sulṭān-Aḥmad, for the so-called ʿIshratkhāna mausoleum in Samarqand in 868/1464; and those of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim, widow of Muḥammad Shibanī Khan's son, Muḥammad-Temür, for the paired royal *madrasa*s in Samarqand, which contained her own mausoleum and the Shibanid family burial platform, in ca. 920/1514.[143] In all three cases, preservation of property, either from the Islamic laws of inheritance or from potential usurpation by a husband's political rivals,

[139] See *Tārīkh-i shāhī-i Qarā Khitāʾiyān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī (Tehran, 2535/1976), 100. Contrary to general belief, it was not Ulugh Beg who transferred Shāhrukh's body to the Gūr-i Amīr in Samarqand, but Shāhrukh's daughter Pāyanda-Sulṭān Bike, who also commissioned his marble tombstone—see A. A. Semenov, "Nadpisi na nadgrobiiakh Tīmūra i ego potomkov v Gur-i Èmire," *Èpigrafika Vostoka* 3 (1949): 46.

[140] For the endowment created by Zainab Begum, daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsb, for her mausoleum in Mashhad, see ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī, ed., *Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafavī: Majmūʿa-i asnād va mukātabāt-i tārīkhī hamrāh bā yāddāshthā-yi tafṣīlī* (repr. ed., Tehran, 1369/1990–91), 16–17; and Maria Szuppe, "La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVI^e siècle," pt. 1, "L'importance politique et sociale de la parenté matrilinéaire," *Studia Iranica* 23, no. 2 (1994): 251–52. Tājlū Khanum appears to have established an endowment for her own tomb at the Safavid family shrine at Ardabil, where the tomb of her husband, Shāh Ismāʿīl, was located. See also A. H. Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I," *Iran* 13 (1975): 41.

[141] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:367.

[142] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:378–79.

[143] For both of these endowments, see app. 1, pp. 248–50, 252–56.

appears to have served as the principal motive for the conveyance of private properties to *vaqf*.

It might also be fruitful to compare Afaq Begim's endowments with those of her powerful and highly esteemed Mamluk contemporary, Fāṭima b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Khalīl b. Khāṣṣbak (d. 909/1504), the wife of the Mamluk ruler Qaitbay, who like Afaq Begim acted as the administrator of her own endowments, outlived her husband, and died without heirs, but such a comparison would take us too far from our stated topic. Suffice it to say that, just as Carl Petry suggested that Fāṭima's motives in establishing her endowed foundations may have been connected with her husband's strategy to circumvent the problems plaguing the Mamluk central treasury by creating a "private fiscal preserve through artful manipulation of trust properties,"[144] so too were Afaq Begim's motives probably not far removed from Sulṭān-Ḥusain's own *vaqf* policies, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Implementation of the deed of endowment

The existence of a Sharīʿa court ruling on a lawsuit (*daʿvā*) that had been brought against Afaq Begim's *vaqf* by Fāṭima-Sulṭān Aghaja, who was the great-granddaughter of Amīr ʿAlīka Kökältash (d. 844/1440), one of Shāhrukh's leading *amīr*s, and who was the trustee of an endowment that had been created by her great-grandfather in Herat, proves that Afaq Begim's deed of endowment was implemented.[145] The date of the ruling is not known, because the document is defective at both the beginning and the end, but it contains the seal of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Mīrzā who was ruler of Herat after his father's death, together with his brother Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā.[146] Since the Uzbek takeover of the city forced Muẓaffar-Ḥusain to leave Herat on

[144] See Petry, "Class Solidarity," 137.

[145] Fāṭima-Sulṭān Aghaja is referred to in the document as the daughter of the late Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Baba-Dūst, the son of Amīr Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Shaikh Abū al-Fażl, the son of Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlīka Kökältash—see *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Ruling on a lawsuit, line 16. For the ʿAlīka Kökältash family, which was connected by marriage with the Timurid Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 145ff., 287. The disputed property apparently belonged to the endowments of the shrine of ʿAbdullāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār (d. 751 C.E.) located in the Masrakh, or ancient citadel area, of Herat.

[146] For his seal, see app. 2, p. 260.

8 Muḥarram 913/May 20, 1507,[147] the ruling must have been made some time during the ten-month period following the notarization of the endowment deed on 29 Ṣafar 912/July 22, 1506. Although it is not possible to glean the gist of the ruling, it does appear to have been made in Afaq Begim's favour.

It is ironic that Fāṭima-Sulṭān should have been embroiled in a legal dispute with Afaq Begim, as her grandfather, Shaikh Abū al-Fażl (the son of ʿAlīka Kökältash), had been, together with Afaq Begim's father, Ḥasan Charkas, among Sulṭān-Ḥusain's earliest supporters back in 861/1457 when he was ousted from Marv and embarked on his long period of *qazaqliq*.[148]

It is not known what happened to Afaq Begim's endowed foundation after the Uzbek takeover of Herat. While the pious foundations of Khorasan were themselves largely left intact by the Uzbeks, their trustees and administrators suffered harsh monetary exactions at the hands of the Uzbek military under direct orders from Muḥammad Shibanī Khan's *ṣadr* Maulānā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Turkistānī.[149] Thus, according to Khvāndamīr, as a result of the extortionate policies of the Uzbeks, the Timurid pious foundations soon declined:

> As a consequence, the allowance for rations (*rasm-i rātiba*) [to be distributed] to those visiting the *khānaqāh*s, caravanserais, and blessed shrines decreased, and because at that time, in contrast to the policy (*qāʿida*) that had prevailed under the Timurids, they (i.e., the Uzbeks) imposed taxes and administrative dues on endowed properties, the income of the endowments suffered a serious shortfall and the charitable institutions began to decline. In accordance with Divine Decree, until the present date of 929/1523, no ruler has succeeded in repairing and reviving those

[147] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:390.

[148] They are listed in the *Muʿizz al-ansāb* as *amīr*s who had been appointed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain in Marv in 861/1457—see *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, fol. 156b; and Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 194–95.

[149] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:379, 4:382–83. According to Khunjī, in 915/1509, Muḥammad Shibanī Khan ordered a review of all the endowments of Samarqand, and this may have been extended to other centres such as Herat. There is no evidence, however, that any invalidation of endowments occurred. Khunjī also records discussions the khan had with the *ʿulamā* of Samarqand about the legal status of lands that had been abandoned by their owners, and he was convinced by their arguments that it would be unlawful to confiscate them. See Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 305–6, 295–99; and Ursula Ott, trans., *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts: Das Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḫārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḫunǧī* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz, 1974), 280–82, 288–89. On this point see also McChesney, *Central Asia*, 54ff.

> institutions or in restoring the endowments to their [former] flourishing state.[150]

This may have been the fate of Afaq Begim's endowments. But it is more likely, given the dynastic character of the endowed foundation and its close association with the rule of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, that the Uzbek conquerors of Khorasan confiscated the endowments outright and removed the endowment deed.[151] At any rate, almost no traces of the mausoleum are in evidence today amid the ruins of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *madrasa*.

Analysis of the endowed properties

Afaq Begim's endowment consisted of 236 individual parcels of land and various other kinds of properties.[152] Unfortunately, because the document is defective at the beginning, the description of the first 134 parcels is missing. However, these were enumerated and briefly described in the two confirmatory rulings that are appended to the endowment deed, thus making it possible to determine, albeit in a limited way, their nature and the extent of the donor's ownership of

[150] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:383.

[151] Compare the fate of the endowments of Fāṭima, the wife of the Mamluk ruler Qaitbay, which were confiscated after her death by her husband's successor, al-Ghauri, at just about the same time in Egypt—see Petry, "Class Solidarity," 136. This might explain how Afaq Begim's endowment deed eventually found its way into the State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tashkent. It is known that members of the Transoxanian judiciary establishment, such as ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, the author of *al-Fatāvā al-Shaibānī*, had at their disposal rulings written by the *ʿulamā* of Khorasan, since the texts of several of these are included in the above-mentioned legal formulary, *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*. Another possibility is that a notarized copy of the endowment deed may have been kept in an archival repository, such as the library of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā in Bukhara, since endowment deeds were often made in multiple copies for such safe keeping—see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 226–27.

[152] The individual parcels are numbered in the right margin of the document following a system of notation whereby the numeral for hundreds is followed by a period. For this practice, see Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1888), 310, no. 278. Due to lack of familiarity with this practice, some researchers read the number 233 as 2,033, thus concluding that over 2,000 properties had been conveyed to the endowment (see n. 104 above). That the total number of parcels was 233 is confirmed by the two confirmatory rulings that are appended to the endowment deed, which restate in words the number of each individual parcel. However, since three of the parcels described in the text of the deed (202a, 209a, 217a) appear to have been omitted from the numbered sequence, I have determined that the total number of parcels was actually 236.

them.[153] The remaining 102 parcels are described in detail, including the type of property or holding, the size or number of shares owned, the region or town in which it was located, and the delineation of its boundaries, expressed in terms of abutting properties or landmarks.[154] In terms of the number of properties, Afaq Begim's endowment may be compared to the endowments established in the last decades of the fifteenth century by the Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār for his Muḥavvaṭa-i mullāyān complex outside Samarqand consisting of approximately 250 individual parcels.[155]

An analysis of the properties belonging to Afaq Begim's endowments indicates that they represented a mixture of agricultural lands, commercial, and residential properties located throughout eastern Khorasan, in the *vilāyat*s of Bādghīs, Jām, Sarakhs and Ṭīzhin (Tejen), Balkh, and Marūchāq, and in several central districts (*bulūk*s) of Herat (Udvān-Tīzān, Ālanjān, Gudāra, Injīl), as well as in the city itself.[156] Commercial properties included shops (*dukkān*), mills (*āsiyā, ṭāḥūna*), and irrigation canals (*qanāt, kārīz, jūybār*). Agricultural properties of various types appear to have predominated, however, and these included entire hamlets (*mazraʿa*), arable fields (*zamīn*), vineyards (*karm, raz*), and gardens (*bāgh, chahārbāgh*). This also appears to be the case for the parcels that are missing from the first part of the document, the majority of which were either agricultural lands, or irrigation canals and water shares. The donor's ownership of these properties was often complex. In many cases, she owned only a share (*sahm*) in the property, three out of four indivisible shares being the most common. By way of illustration, one of the properties she owned consisted of the fixed assets of a mill-house, the rights to which (*raqaba*) actually belonged to the state (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*).[157]

One of the largest concentrations of properties was in the village of Tīzān in the Udvān-Tīzān district of Herat.[158] Almost all of the

[153] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, Confirmatory ruling no. 1, lines 5–47.

[154] The description of parcels 135 to 138 is incomplete due to the defectiveness of the document.

[155] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 10 (the document is dated 894/1489).

[156] For a detailed description of the endowed properties, see app. 2.

[157] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, property no. 199–[1]. The term *raqaba* denotes the substance of a property as opposed to its usufruct.

[158] The district was located south of the city of Herat—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:28.

thirty-two agricultural properties were vineyards, ranging in size from one *jarīb* (approximately 0.625 acres) to seven *jarīb* (approximately 4.4 acres). Another large concentration was in the village of Mālān in the Gudāra district of Herat.[159] Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Badīʿ al-Zamān, and Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī also owned properties in this important village.[160] A smaller concentration of properties was in the Maḥalla of Mīr ʿAlīka Kökältash in the village of Ghūra-Darvāz, located in the Injīl district of Herat.[161] One of these was a large residential complex on a plot of land measuring three and a half *jarīb*s (approximately 2.2 acres), which consisted of a pavilion (*kūshk*), a number of imposing buildings, an audience hall (*dīvān-khāna*), and two pools or reservoirs (*sar-ḥauż*, *ḥauż*).

As for the properties in the city of Herat, which numbered twelve, these consisted almost entirely of residential buildings, often with adjoining gardens. They were located in the Bāgh-i Shahr, in the Ustād Rajab Miʿmār and Mīr Akhvur quarters, both near the Fīrūzābād gate, and in the Ṭiflagān quarter.

Conditions of the endowment and personnel

According to the conditions stated in the deed of endowment, the revenues from the endowment were to be used in the first instance for the maintenance of the endowed foundation, and thereafter for the stipends of the personnel and the distribution of food. Any surplus left over was to be used for the purchase of new properties to be added to the endowment.[162]

The beneficiaries of the endowment were the foundation itself, together with its personnel and administrators; the visitors to the mausoleum; and the Muslim poor (*fuqarāʾ al-Muslimīn*).[163] Among the activities supported by the endowment were first and foremost the continuous recitation of the Qurʾān at the tomb of the donor by five Qurʾān reciters

[159] The district was also located south of the city of Herat—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:24.

[160] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 167, 156–57, respectively.

[161] For this central, highly built-up district of Herat, located north of the Harirud River, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:25.

[162] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 194–97.

[163] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 175, 217.

(*ḥuffāẓ*),[164] and the distribution of food on major Muslim feast days and commemorations, including the entire month of Ramaḍān, as well as during the winter months.[165] Endowments of a public or semi-public nature almost always had a social welfare function. But in the case of private mausolea, the distribution of food may also have reflected the Central Asian custom of commemorating the death of a person by partaking in the ritual annual meal at his or her gravesite.[166]

Table of the Rations Distributed at the Mausoleum of Afaq Begim in Herat

Occasion	Date	Ration
Daily		10 *mann* of croutons, 10 *mann* of meat, 15 *mann* of wheat[167]
Rūz-i ʿĀshūrā	10 Muḥarram	30 *mann* of meat, 30 *mann* of bread, 10 *mann* of wheat, 3 *mann* of sheep's-tail fat, lentils and beans
Khatm-i Nabiyy	12 Rabīʿ I	3 sheep, 10 *mann* of rice, 30 *mann* of bread
Rūz-i Istiftāḥ	15 Rajab	30 *mann* of bread, 20 *mann* of *ḥalvā*, 2 sheep
Winter months[168]	daily[169]	15 *mann* of wheat, 2 *mann* of tallow, 1 *mann* of chickpeas, 10 *mann* of carrots, 10 *mann* of turnips
Shab-i Barāt	15 Shaʿbān	20 *mann* of *chalpak* bread, 20 *mann* of *ḥalvā*, 30 *mann* of bread, 2 sheep
Ramaḍān	nightly	10 *mann* of meat, 5 *mann* of wheat, 5 *mann* of flour, 3 *mann* of raisins or syrup
ʿId-i Fiṭr	1 Shawwāl	100 *mann* of *kulīcha* bread, 30 *mann* of *ḥalvā*, 5 sheep, 20 *mann* of bread, 10 *mann* of rice
ʿId-i Qurbān	10 Dhū al-Ḥijja	1 cow, 6 sheep, 20 *mann* of wheat, 30 *mann* of bread

[164] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 239–42. For the history of this practice, which was also widespread in the Arab west, see Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 62; Pahlitzsch, "Memoria und Stiftung," 83–87.

[165] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 274–300. For the well-established tradition of distributing food at endowed foundations, see Lev, *Charity*, 130–31.

[166] For the practice at other Timurid mausolea, such as the tomb of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's mother Fīrūza Begim in Herat, see Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 174.

[167] For the *mann*, see n. 177 below.

[168] I.e., six months.

[169] In addition to the daily ration.

Besides the continuous recitation of the Qur'ān, another activity that was to take place at the mausoleum was instruction in the science of the prophetic Traditions and in Islamic law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*)[170] to eleven students.[171] This would have added one more professor (*mudarris*) to those who had already been teaching at Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *madrasa-khānaqāh* before Afaq Begim established her endowment.[172] The kitchen staff, which included the steward (*bukāvul*) and cook (*bāvurchī*),[173] and the custodial personnel that served at the mausoleum were characteristic of endowments for mausolea in other parts of the Islamic world.[174]

Apart from the trustee (*mutavallī*), who was normally responsible for the overall management of endowments, Afaq Begim's *vaqfiyya* also made provision for a management team that worked closely with the trustee and was responsible for the all-important functions of financial accounting and auditing. This team consisted of a chief financial officer (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i kull*) to supervise the allocation of revenues from the endowment and audit the accounts; an accountant/bookkeeper (*ṣāḥib-daftar-i jamʿ*) to oversee the income and expenditures (*jamʿ va kharj*) of the endowed properties and record them in a ledger book; a financial overseer (*mushrif*) to keep a monthly financial statement (*nuskha*) of what was spent on stipends, rations, and provisions for the kitchen; and an agricultural manager (*ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirāʿat*) to supervise agricultural activity on the lands belonging to the endowment.[175] Presumably, all four individuals were proficient in financial accounting and in the keeping of ledger books.

[170] *Uṣūl al-fiqh* denotes legal theory as opposed to substantive law (*furūʿ al-fiqh*). Presumably the Hanafite school of legal interpretation would have been followed, since it predominated in Timurid Herat. In fact, the *vaqfiyya* stipulates that the *imām* of the mausoleum must belong to the Hanafite school—see *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 233.

[171] See *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 216–17.

[172] According to the *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, which was completed ca. 901/1495–96, there were eleven professors providing instruction in the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh*, and each month close to thirty students presented themselves to collect their stipends—see Khvāndamīr, *Maʾāṣir al-mulūk*, 175. However, the *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, which was completed a bit later, in 905/1499–1500, states that there were only eight professors at the time—see Khvāndamīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, 195.

[173] Although these titles derive from the Turko-Mongolian terms *bökävül* and *bavurchi* discussed earlier in connection with the patrimonial household, they assumed a more domestic connotation in Persian usage, as in the case of the term *nökär*.

[174] See Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 61–63.

[175] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 260–72.

Table of the Salaries and Stipends of the Personnel of the Mausoleum of Afaq Begim in Herat

Post	No. persons	Annual stipend	
		In cash[176]	In kind[177]
Professor (*mudarris*)	1	1,200	24
Shaikh	1	1,200	10
Ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirāʿat	1	1,000 > 2,000	10 > 20
Ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i kull	1	1,000	10
Ṣāḥib-daftar-i jamʿ	1	1,000	10
Mushrif	1	500	5
Qur'ān reciters (*ḥāfiẓ*):	5 (total)		
lead reciter	1	500	10
others	4	200	4
Imām	1	300	5
Cook (*bāvurchī*)	1	300	5
Students:	11 (total)		
advanced	3	288	5
intermediate	4	192	4
beginners	4	144	3
Muʾazzin	1	200	5
Custodian (*khādim*)	1	200	5
Steward (*bukāvul*)	1	200	5
Caretaker (*farrāsh*)	1	200	5
Server (*ṭabaqchī*)	1	200	3

The duties of the agricultural manager included making annual site visits, together with the trustee, to all agricultural properties, and preparing a financial statement (*nuskha*) of agricultural revenues and expenditures for seed grain, draught animals, agricultural labour, taxes and dues, and the maintenance of irrigation canals. If the agricultural manager and trustee were unable to make the site visits themselves, they were to send trustworthy individuals who would prepare the financial statement based on their own assessments.[178] The agricultural manager was also supposed to verify the trustee's ledger and correct it if necessary. He was also to be kept informed of all stipends paid and rations distributed, and the chief financial officer was not permitted to issue any

[176] In *kapakī dīnārs*.

[177] In assloads (*kharvār*) of 100 *mann* each.

[178] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, lines 200–201, 267–68.

drafts (*barāt*) without his authorization.[179] The scope of the agricultural manager's duties would appear to exceed the usual demands of such a position, which was basically to supervise agricultural activity.[180] During the Timurid period, however, the position appears to have assumed great importance. In the diploma of appointment for the governor (*dārūgha*) of Karaj, agricultural management (*nasaq-i zirā'at*) is referred to as "one of the most important tasks of the state financial administration and one of the weightiest matters of state."[181]

Based on the description of the duties of the members of the financial management team and the trustee, it appears that at least two individuals were supposed to make annual site visits to the endowed properties and prepare the financial statement: (1) the trustee or his representative, and (2) the *ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirā'at* or his representative. In this way, provision was made not only for a check on the activities of the trustee, who would otherwise have had unlimited authority in the administration of the endowment, but also for an internal audit of the financial records.

Perhaps the most telling indication of the importance of the financial management team is the fact that its members were among the highest-paid personnel of the *vaqf*. They were to receive 1,000 *kapakī dīnār*s and ten *kharvār*s of grain each (except for the *mushrif* who was paid 500 *kapakī dīnār*s and five *kharvār*s of grain). This was only slightly less than the salaries of the professor (*mudarris*), who was paid 1,200 *kapakī dīnār*s and twenty-four *kharvār*s of grain, and the shaikh (1,200 *kapakī dīnārs* and ten *kharvār*s of grain), traditionally the highest paid posts in medieval Islamic educational and charitable foundations.

Moreover, in the case of the agricultural manager (*ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirā'at*), Afaq Begim doubled his wages (*ḥaqq al-'amal*) to 2,000 *kapakī dīnār*s and twenty *kharvār*s of grain in a revised condition, thereby making him the highest-paid individual in the entire administration of her

[179] *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, marginal notation. For the term *barāt*, see O. D. Chekhovich, ed. and trans., *Bukharskie dokumenty XIV veka* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1965), 226 n. 106.

[180] The responsibilities of the *ṣāḥib-nasaq* of the shrine of Fāṭima at Qum during the Safavid and Qajar periods, for example, included promoting, organizing, and expanding agricultural activity on the lands belonging to the endowment—see Mudarrisī-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Turbat-i pākān* 1:265–68.

[181] See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 208.

endowments.[182] The person she named to the post, Āqā Ya'qūb Shāh, is referred to as a long-time employee (*mulāzim*), whose family had long been in the service of the Timurid house, and the post was to be inherited by his descendants after his death.[183]

Financial Management of Endowments in Timurid Khorasan

Based on an analysis of extant deeds of endowment from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Khorasan and Transoxiana, it appears that the administration of endowed foundations in Timurid Khorasan was characterized by a greater emphasis on accounting and auditing functions than those in other regions of Iran or in Transoxiana. As we have seen, provisions for the employment of personnel with financial management functions were made in both Mīr 'Alīshīr's and Afaq Begim's deeds for their endowments in Herat. The endowment established by the Sufi shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī, also in the Herat region, called for the employment of a *mushrif*, whose annual salary was to be 5 per cent of the revenues of the foundation.[184] The presence of financial managers at the Anṣārī shrine in Herat has already been established in connection with our discussion of Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, who was an accountant (*sāyiq*) employed in the shrine's administration. The culture of professional management extended to royal endowments, which were at one point entrusted by Sulṭān-Ḥusain to the chief financial officer of the state, the *vazīr* Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī.[185]

There is little evidence that professional financial managers were involved in the administration of endowments in other regions of

[182] This revised condition is contained in a separate document, which was written upside down in the right margin of the deed in what appears to be a different hand—see *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, between lines 283 and 316. It does not contain the date of certification by the qadi, only imprints of the seal of the donor.

[183] It is interesting to note that this individual appears to be related to one of the managers of the *vaqf* of Gauharshād in Mashhad, whose name was Sālār 'Alī Shāh b. Ya'qūb Shāh—see 'Utāridī, *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds* 2:748.

[184] His salary was half that of the trustee himself—see app. 1, p. 236.

[185] See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 221–22, 224–26 (the documents are undated). These included the tombs of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's mother and father, and the dervish lodge he built in the Ni'matābād section of Herat. The manager (*dārūgha*) of these endowments was responsible for agriculture and irrigation—see Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Tarassul yā munsha'āt*, MS, Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Sinā, 318, fols. 39b–41b (my foliation), document entitled *Manshūr-i ḥukūmat va dārūghakī-i muhimmāt-i auqāf-i humāyūn*.

Timurid Iran, such as Yazd. Nor is there any evidence from the pre-Timurid period, as in the case of the Rukniyya and Shamsiyya complexes established during the first half of the fourteenth century.[186] Even the substantial endowments established by the Ilkhanid *vazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn for the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī complex in Tabriz only made provision for a financial overseer (*mushrif*) and supervisor (*nāẓir*), and these individuals were to be members of the donor's family, not professional administrators.[187]

As for Timurid Transoxiana, no financial personnel are mentioned, for example, in Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim's endowment deed for the ʿIshratkhāna mausoleum in Samarqand, dating from the mid fifteenth century. The same applies both to the pre-Timurid period, judging from the endowment deed of Shaikh Yaḥyā for the Bākharzī shrine in Bukhara, as well as to the post-Timurid period, as attested by Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim's endowments for the paired *madrasa*s in Samarqand. The endowments of the Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār (d. 1490), whose extensive agricultural holdings were concentrated in the Samarqand region, constitute an exception. Jürgen Paul has demonstrated that Aḥrār's complex near Samarqand, known as Muḥavvaṭa-i mullāyān, was managed through a centralized bureaucratic administration, consisting of professional administrators (*sarkārdār*), agricultural managers (*ṣāḥib-nasaq*), and other financial personnel.[188] It is very likely that Aḥrār was directly influenced by the example of the Timurid endowments he witnessed in Khorasan, since he had spent a total of five years in Timurid Herat before returning to Transoxiana to launch his first successful agricultural enterprise in Tashkent.[189]

In sum, the emphasis placed on financial management in Timurid endowments may be seen as directly linked to the intensive type of agriculture practiced in Khorasan, and in the Herat region in particular, which demanded close scrutiny and managerial supervision. In the next chapter, we will examine the large endowed shrine complexes

[186] In the case of these endowments, fiscal responsibility was vested in the donor-trustee or in the donor-trustee's descendants—see Iwatake, "Waqf of a Timurid Amir," 95–97; and Holod-Tretiak, "Monuments of Yazd," 38–39.

[187] See Hoffmann, *Waqf*, 148–53.

[188] Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung*, 94–112. For Aḥrār's deeds of endowment, see app. 1, pp. 251–52.

[189] See Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥusain Vāʿiẓ Kāshifī [al-Ṣafī], *Rashaḥāt-i ʿain al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Aṣghar Muʿīnīyān, 2 vols. (Tehran, 2536/1977), 2:404; and Gross and Urunbaev, *Letters of Khvāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār*, 11–12.

in Khorasan, some of which were established under Sulṭān-Ḥusain's patronage, in order to demonstrate how they were utilized as a means of organizing and managing agricultural activity in the region.

CHAPTER SIX

OF SAINTS AND SCRIBES: THE TIMURID SHRINE AS A VEHICLE FOR AGROMANAGEMENT

The Cult of Saints and the Visitation of Tombs in Medieval Iran

Tomb shrines of Muslim religious scholars, saints, and mystics, both real and legendary, were a ubiquitous feature in the cultural landscape of the medieval Islamic world. Objects of popular piety and visitation for the purpose of partaking of the *baraka*, or charisma, of the saintly individual buried there or for making a vow, they had many functions and served many purposes besides those that are the concern of anthropologists and historians of religion.[1] While the opinions of the juridical authorities regarding the practice of the visitation of graves (*ziyārat-i qubūr*) differed, since the ambivalent prophetic Tradition on which they were based both prohibited and allowed the practice, in the main they were not positive.[2] Ibn Taimiyya, the influential Hanbalite theologian and jurist of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, condemned the practice altogether in his writings.[3] But in the eastern Islamic world, and in Iran and Central Asia in particular, such categorical views, even if held, were rarely observed, and the practice of *ziyārat* was so widespread as to constitute one of the most prevalent forms of Islamic devotion in medieval times.

[1] For the concept of *baraka*, see Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 100–108; and Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*: Ziyāra *and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 127–67.

[2] See Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, ed. S. M. Stern, 2 vols. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967–71), 1:232–33, 2:286–88. For a discussion of the Tradition, which is widely attested in the canonical compilations ("I forbade you to visit graves, but you may now visit them"), see Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle against Popular Religion. With an Annotated Translation of His Kitāb iqtiḍā' aṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥab al-jaḥīm* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 261–62; also Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 6–7. For the practice of *ziyāra* in the western Islamic world, see Taylor, *Vicinity of the Righteous*, 62–79.

[3] See Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle*, 13–17, 254–64; and Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 130ff.

The Shafi'ite jurist Faẓlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 927/1521), whose views may be said to represent mainstream Sunni opinion in the late medieval Persianate world, handed down a ruling on the subject in which he expressed agreement with the consensus reached by latter-day jurists that there was no reason to prohibit the practice, so long as the etiquette (*ādāb*) observed at such times was in conformity with Islamic practice and did not include such "heretical innovations" as rubbing oneself against the grave, kissing it, circumambulating it, or reciting the Qur'ān over it (although opinion regarding the latter practice was divided).[4] He counsels, for example, that one should stand with one's back to the *qibla*, or direction of prayer, and pronounce certain standard salutations to the dead. Even though women were probably the most frequent practitioners, all of this applied only to men, as the visitation of graves by women was regarded as reprehensible (*makrūh*) at best, the argument being that women were more prone to displays of grief, which were not in keeping with Islamic views on the hereafter.[5]

The crux of the matter, however, was not the visitation of graves per se but rather the danger that such visitation, particularly of significant tomb shrines at designated times of the year, might resemble the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*), and even be regarded as a substitute for that religious obligation.[6] All medieval jurists, both eastern and western, appear to have been in agreement regarding this last point. Ibn Taymiyya's disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya (d. 1350) decried visitation rites that were plainly in imitation of the *ḥajj*, such as circumambulating the grave and shaving the head, and the Egyptian theologian Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) put it bluntly when he referred to *ziyāra* as

[4] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 331–35; also 336–38 (with respect to pilgrimage to the 'Alid shrine at Mashhad); and Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 304 (although the text of the entire ruling has not been translated). Before moving to Uzbek Central Asia where he became an adviser on religious matters to the Shibanid ruler, Khunjī had been active at the Aq Qoyunlu court in Iran. In his opinion, the Prophet's original prohibition of the practice was based on the fact that, in the early days of Islam, the Arabs were idol worshippers who revered inanimate objects, and since a corpse was inanimate, the visitation of graves was regarded as being connected with idolatry. Later, however, the practice was deemed commendable (*mustaḥabb*) on the grounds that it made the visitor mindful of death.

[5] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 332. Besides, Khunjī says, women were supposed to stay at home anyway, where they belonged. For *makrūh* on the scale of permissibility in Islamic law, see Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 511.

[6] For the problematic relationship between *ziyāra* and *ḥajj*, see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 125ff.

"a kind of heretical innovation of the *ḥajj*."[7] Invoking the opinion of his teacher Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dauvānī (d. 908/1502–3), Khunjī for his part declared that the visitation of tomb shrines of popular saints and scholars during set times of the year was forbidden and prohibited (*ḥarām va manhīy ʿanhu*), since the large congregations of people who assembled on such occasions conveyed the impression that an Islamic festival was being celebrated, and he deemed such practices uncanonical (*nā-mashrūʿāt*) and even heretical (*bidʿathā*).[8]

It is telling that Khunjī's juridical views did not prevent him from accompanying his Uzbek patron, Muḥammad Shibanī Khan, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the twelfth-century Turkish saint Aḥmad Yasavī in the town of Turkestan (Yasi) in 914/1509.[9] Not only did the visit to the shrine, which Khunjī refers to as "the Kaʿba of Turkestan," take place during Dhū al-Ḥijja, the month of pilgrimage, but the rituals performed there by the khan replicated rites traditionally associated with the *ḥajj*, such as the sanctification ceremony symbolized by the donning of the pilgrim's garb (*iḥrām*) and the circumambulation (*ṭavāf*) of the saint's tomb.[10] The scene was repeated during the khan's visit to the ʿAlid shrine at Mashhad.[11]

Thus, juridical strictures and opinions notwithstanding, the practice of pilgrimage to tomb shrines remained an integral part of the fabric of religio-social life in all parts of the Islamic world, from Egypt and North Africa to Afghanistan and the Subcontinent, virtually obliterating distinctions between the orthodox interpretations of the theologians and the "low" culture of the popular masses.[12] The literary genre of the pilgrimage guide (*kitāb al-ziyāra*, *kitāb-i mazārāt*), which dates back as early as the ninth century, attests to the currency and widespread acceptance

[7] See Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 134–37. For the performance of such rituals during pilgrimage to holy sites in Jerusalem, such as the Dome of the Rock, see Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 53, 64–65, 157.

[8] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 335.

[9] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 258–62; and Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 257–60.

[10] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 129, 258. See also Michele Bernardini, "À propos de Fazlallah b. Ruzbehan Khonji Esfahani et du mausolée d'Ahmad Yasavi," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3–4 (1997): 286–89.

[11] For which see Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma*, 339–42; and Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan*, 305–8.

[12] On this point see Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 70, 76–78; Harald Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan: Islamische Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrtswesen im Raum Kabul* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), 31–32; and Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 283–85.

of the practice of visitation.[13] The first comprehensive guide for the entire Islamic world, *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt*, was composed by ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215), whose family, interestingly enough, was originally from Herat.[14] The Timurid period witnessed a resurgence of the genre.[15] The most comprehensive pilgrimage guide to the shrines of early Timurid Herat, *Maqṣad al-iqbāl-i sulṭāniyya va marṣad al-āmāl-i khāqāniyya*, was composed in ca. 864/1459–60 by Amīr Sayyid Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥusainī, a religious scholar and preacher (*vāʿiẓ*), who dedicated it to the Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd. It provides a valuable overview of the practices connected with the visitation of tomb shrines in this important eastern Islamic cultural centre during the fifteenth century.[16]

The Legitimating Function of Popular Shrines

The construction of funerary structures, usually domed mausolea, which were designated variously as *mazār*, *turbat*, *qubba*, *mashhad*, and *gunbad*, at the graves of Muslim saints and scholars did not seem to pose a legal problem, at least not in the Hanafite school, which was the most widespread in the eastern Islamic world in pre-Safavid times.[17] The post-Mongol period had witnessed a great surge in such building

[13] See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* 2:290 n. 2; Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* [*Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt*], trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1957), xxx–xxxv; and Amikam Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Hebron (al-Khalīl) during the Early Muslim Period (638?–1099)," in *Pilgrims and Travellers to the Holy Land*, ed. Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996), 42.

[14] See Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 143. For a recent English translation, see Josef W. Meri, trans., *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Maʿrifat al-Ziyārāt* (Princeton: Darwin, 2004).

[15] See Maria Szuppe, "Une description des lieux de pèlerinage (*ziyāratgāh*) autour de Ghazna, Afghanistan (fin du XVII^{e} s.?)," in *Scritti in onore de Giovanni M. d'Erme*, ed. Michele Bernardini and Natalia L. Tornesello (Naples, 2005), 1184.

[16] For editions of the work see Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, 1–105; and Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh Vāʿiẓ, *Maqṣad al-iqbāl-i sulṭāniyya va marṣad al-āmāl-i khāqāniyya*, ed. Māyil Haravī ([Tehran], 1351/1972). For the work, see Ch. A. Stori [C. A. Storey], *Persidskaia literatura: Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor*, trans. and rev. Iu. È. Bregel', 3 vols. (Moscow: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury, 1972), 2:1048–49. For Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:334.

[17] See Thomas Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari'a toward Funerary Architecture," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 16; and Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 10–11, 67–77 (for the terminology used for such structures).

activity as Turko-Mongolian dynasts and their military elites, whose attachment to their own customary laws created tensions with the Muslim religious establishment, sought to legitimate their rule in the eyes of their Muslim, largely Persian-speaking, sedentary subjects.[18] The veneration of Muslim saints and Sufi shaikhs in particular became one of the most visible symbols of their outward accommodation to Islamic principles. At the same time, given the well-attested penchant of nomadic peoples for the indiscriminate veneration of holy men of all religious persuasions, it was also one of the least painful steps for them to make in the process of their acculturation.[19]

Just as the Seljuq rulers of Iran were attached to the cult of the eleventh-century Sufi shaikh Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khair,[20] the Ilkhanids were attached to that of the ninth-century Sufi Bāyazīd Basṭāmī,[21] and the Chaghatayid khans cultivated ties with the Shaikhs of Jām,[22] the Timurid rulers of Khorasan found in ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, the eleventh-century Sufi patron saint of Herat, the perfect symbol of their newly professed Islamic orientation, and they patronized his shrine and cult to which they remained devoted throughout their dynastic reign.[23]

It was through the institution of *vaqf* that the patronage of tomb shrines both by members of the Timurid elite and by private individuals manifested itself most tangibly. In fact, shrines appear to have been the main beneficiaries of Timurid endowments, as there was a marked increase in the construction of funerary monuments and in the repair and revival of older shrines throughout the Timurid period, starting with Temür himself.[24] The Herat region in particular was replete with shrines, as attested by the popular vade mecum for pilgrims *Maqṣad*

[18] See Lisa Golombek, "The Cult of Saints and Shrine Architecture in the Fourteenth Century," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. Dickran K. Kouymjian (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), 419–30. For the revival of shrines in the fourteenth century in general, see Sheila S. Blair, "Sufi Saints and Shrine Architecture in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 35–49.

[19] On this see Aubin, "Le *quriltai* de Sultân-Maydân," 176, 197.

[20] See Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, 239–40.

[21] See Aubin, "Le khanat de Čaġatai," 34; and Aubin, "Le *quriltai* de Sultân-Maydân," 186–87.

[22] Aubin, "Le khanat de Čaġatai," 34ff. On the relationship between Sufi shaikhs and newly Islamicized Turko-Mongolian rulers, see Jürgen Paul, "Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čaġatay," *Der Islam* 67, no. 2 (1990): 318–19.

[23] See Subtelny, "Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī," 403.

[24] See Haase, "Shrines of Saints," 218–19; also Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:50–52.

al-iqbāl, mentioned above. Sulṭān-Ḥusain explicitly made the connection between the legitimacy of his rule over Khorasan and his patronage of shrines and other charitable and educational foundations. In the diploma of appointment issued by his chancery for a trustee of the endowments of the shrine of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, he stated:

> The upholding of the pillars of the throne of kingship and the strengthening of the edifices of state administration are posited on the revival (*iḥyā*) of [our] obligations to the pious foundations (*biqāʿ-i khair*) and the promotion (*tarvīj*) of the customary practices [connected with] places of popular devotion (*mavāqiʿ al-birr*).[25]

Members of the religious intelligentsia, who were appointed to such posts as trustee, shaikh, and *naqīb* at shrine complexes, and who derived their financial means from stipends, salaries, and perquisites paid from endowment revenues, played an important role in helping to maintain the political status quo by providing Timurid rule with the stamp of religious approval. The popular preachers (*vāʿiẓ*, *nāṣiḥ*), who functioned as religio-political propagandists for the regime, often made the shrines the venues for their activities. The Hanafite traditionist Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyinī, author of the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, preached at the tomb of Qāżī ʿAbdullāh in Herat.[26] Ḥusain Vāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī, the much sought-after preacher of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, regularly gave sermons at the shrine of Abū al-Valīd Aḥmad at Āzādān just outside Herat.[27] Another important venue for this popular type of sermonizing was the shrine of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī at Gāzurgāh.

The widespread and well-attested social welfare function of Islamic public endowments in general and of shrine complexes in particular, which involved the feeding and clothing of the poor and homeless, including Sufis, whose ethos had by this time permeated the highest echelons of the religious intelligentsia, enhanced the moral standing and reputation of the regime as one that cared for and served the Muslim community at large.[28]

[25] Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 137, 280. The phrase "posited on" (*mauqūf bar*) may also be interpreted in the technical sense to mean "convey to *vaqf* for a beneficiary." Also frequently cited in documents produced by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's chancery was the phrase "Seek help from those dwelling in graves (*ahl al-qubūr*)," for which see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 141, 144.

[26] See al-Qāyinī, *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fol. 305b.

[27] Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* 4:345.

[28] This is underscored by the standard phrase found in deeds of endowment that the ultimate beneficiaries of the endowment were to be the Muslim poor (*fuqarā' al-*

Shrines attracted pilgrims, who in turn demanded services that attracted commercial development in the form of shops, bazaars, eateries, and baths in the immediate vicinity of the shrine. Elite developers could actually create demand by insisting on pilgrimage for ideological reasons, as would the Safavid Shāh ʿAbbās, who in the late sixteenth century promoted pilgrimage to the ʿAlid shrine at Mashhad in lieu of the Meccan *ḥajj*.[29] Thus did tomb shrines sometimes develop into large shrine towns, the most striking examples of which on the territory of greater Iran were and continue to be the shrine complexes at Mashhad, the burial place of the eighth Shiʿite *imām*, ʿAlī b. Mūsā Riżā; Qum, the shrine of Sittī Fāṭima, sister of Imām ʿAlī Riżā, which was developed by the Safavids; and Mazar-i Sharif, the purported burial place of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Timurid Shrines as Vehicles for Agromanagement

But besides its legitimating function, the endowed shrine complex could also be a vehicle for agricultural development and agromanagement. We have already discussed the marked increase in endowment activity during the Timurid period and the systematic revival, patronage, and development of many tomb shrines and other charitable and educational foundations in Khorasan on the part of Timurid rulers and their elites. The bulk of endowments made to such foundations consisted of agricultural lands and water shares, and the surviving deeds of endowment from the Timurid period provide ample evidence of the number, size, and quality of the agricultural lands, gardens, and vineyards that were donated to various pious foundations by members of the Timurid royal family and elite.

My contention is that agricultural activity during the Timurid period was organized to a large extent through the institution of *vaqf*, and that the Timurids transformed their major endowed shrine complexes into

Muslimīn). See Miriam Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community: Waqf al-Ḥaramayn in Ottoman Algiers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 144; and *Vaqfiyya* of Afaq Begim, line 175.

[29] See Charles Melville, "Shah ʿAbbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris in association with the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, 1996), 215–17. On the development of Jerusalem by the Umayyads and their encouragement of pilgrimage to it for religio-political reasons, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 147ff.

vehicles for developing and managing the lucrative intensive irrigated agriculture of Khorasan, and of the Herat region in particular. With their staffs of administrators, accountants, agronomists, and hydrologists, the major Timurid shrine complexes possessed the professional expertise and resources to rationalize agricultural activity and to become efficiently run large-scale agricultural enterprises.[30] Of pivotal importance in assuring the success of these enterprises was, as argued earlier, the maintenance of accurate financial records, the production of financial statements, the existence of checks and balances, and the regular auditing of accounts.

In this respect, the Timurid shrine complex may be compared with some of the well-known endowed foundations of Mamluk Cairo, about which we are somewhat better informed.[31] It may also fruitfully be compared with other religiously-affiliated endowed institutions, such as the European Christian monastery and the Buddhist monastery, which played an important economic role in their respective agrarian-based economies. The success of these institutions stemmed from the training of administrative personnel, the centralization of administration, and, most importantly, the financial auditing of accounts, which drew attention to inefficiencies and allowed for the development of rational economic policies.[32]

Thus, rather than presenting an "Islamic" model of a redistributive economy, whereby commercial and agricultural revenues derived from endowments were simply recycled back into the endowed foundation, the shrine complex became the means for the creation of surplus wealth that was channelled through the foundation into the larger economy. In his study of the economic aspect of religious rejections of the world in general, and of asceticism in particular, Max Weber saw temples and monasteries as the very loci of rational economies, and the shrine complexes of Timurid Iran may be viewed as expressions of what he called "the paradox of all rational asceticism," since they created the

[30] On this point see also Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 189–94.

[31] It is possible to gain an idea of the detailed system of record-keeping utilized in some Mamluk endowed foundations during the early fourteenth century thanks to the information provided by the Mamluk historian al-Nuwairī. See Sabra, *Poverty and Charity*, 79–80; and Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity?" 102–3.

[32] See Goody, *Logic of Writing*, 58–61; and J. A. Raftis, "Western Monasticism and Economic Organization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3 (1960–61): 464–68.

wealth that, in many cases, had been abjured by the saintly persons buried in them.[33]

The Shrines at Herat and Mashhad

The Timurid rulers were undoubtedly inspired by the model of the tomb shrines belonging to Sufi dynastic families, such as the shrines of the shaikhs of Jām and Chisht, which were quite common in Khorasan. Since these shrines were usually centres of Sufi communal life, their members often worked and managed the lands belonging to their endowments themselves. The agricultural enterprise of the Naqshbandī shaikh ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār, which was managed by his disciples through a communal centre (and later tomb shrine) outside Samarqand, represented a very successful version of this type of smaller scale, family-run complex. The tomb shrines that the Timurids chose to develop on a large scale were not connected to any Sufi dynastic family. Rather, they were tombs of individuals with broad popular appeal that had fallen into neglect or oblivion, and that the Timurid rulers and prominent members of their elites revived through the construction or reconstruction of irrigation networks in their vicinity.

The three most notable examples that I will focus on in this chapter are the shrine of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī at Herat, the shrine of Imām Riżā at Mashhad, and the ʿAlid shrine at Balkh. All three were located not in urban settings but in suburban areas that were underdeveloped or that had not yet been developed, and their respective locations in central, western, and eastern Khorasan encompassed the most productive agrarian oases of this rich eastern Iranian province.[34]

Unfortunately, the administrative records of these shrines have not survived from the Timurid period, either in the way of ledger books or financial statements. The scant evidence cannot be compared with the archival record available to modern researchers for later periods or other regions.[35] Such a state of affairs presents a serious impediment to the application of standard methods of quantitative analysis of data. It

[33] Gerth and Mills, *From Max Weber*, 332.

[34] Compare McChesney, *Central Asia*, 81.

[35] On this point see Linda S. Northrup and Amal A. Abul-Hajj, "A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Ḥaram al-Šarīf," *Arabica* 25, no. 3 (1978): 282.

has therefore been necessary to investigate alternative sources of information, to engage in scholarly detective work, and at times even to risk drawing conclusions based on a qualitative analysis of such sources.

The Anṣārī shrine at Herat

The shrine of the eleventh-century traditionist and Sufi patron saint of Herat, Khvāja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī (d. 1089), located at Gāzurgāh about four and a half kilometres northeast of Herat, was resuscitated in the fifteenth century by Temür's son Shāhrukh. Although strictly opposed to any form of saint worship on account of his Hanbalite convictions, Anṣārī ironically became the focus of a veneration cult on the part of the Timurids, and his gravesite at Gāzurgāh, over which a monument had not even been erected at the time of his death, was developed into a large shrine complex that became the object of visitation and pilgrimage.[36]

It is in the context of the transformation of the Timurid polity and the quest for legitimation of Timurid rule in Khorasan that Shāhrukh's revival of the cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī should be viewed. An uncompromising advocate of the Sharīʿa and opponent of all "heretical innovation," Anṣārī became the perfect symbol of the Timurids' stated return to Islamic principles, and of their opposition to movements that posed a threat to the stability of their regime. Anṣārī's reputation as a traditionist corresponded perfectly to the emphasis on the prophetic Traditions that constituted the basis of the Timurid-sponsored revival of Sunni Islam.[37] The embodiment of Islamic traditionalism, he continued posthumously to exert a moral authority that the Timurids exploited to full advantage.[38]

With his longstanding identification with the city and populace of Herat, the "respectable" figure of Anṣārī provided a stark contrast to the quasi-shamanistic holy men and pseudo-sayyids who had been

[36] See Subtelny, "Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī," 377–406.

[37] For which see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 211ff. Contrary to the assertion of May Farhat, I do not suggest in my article, "Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī," that Shāhrukh endorsed Hanbalism—see May Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā in Mashhad (10th–17th Century)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002), 91.

[38] For this idea see Peter Brown, "Late Antiquity and Islam: Parallels and Contrasts," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of* Adab *in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 35.

associated with Temür.[39] As a Sufi, he was always grouped in the popular mind together with such Sunni mystics as Junaid Baghdādī (d. 910), Bāyazīd Basṭāmī (d. 874) and Aḥmad-i Jām, known as Zhinda Pīl (d. 1141).[40] Moreover, since he had been dead for more than 300 years, reviving his cult was politically a far safer venture than seeking support from such living religious leaders of uncertain orthodoxy and dangerous charismatic appeal as Niʿmatullāh Valī or Qāsim al-Anvār.[41]

By the late thirteenth century, Anṣārī's gravesite at Gāzurgāh had probably already developed into one of the "little cities of God," to use the expression favoured by Lisa Golombek, that populated the sacred landscape of the Islamic world, and there are records of pilgrimage to it during the fourteenth century.[42] But apart from a *madrasa* erected under Ghurid patronage, no major building activity took place there until the reign of Shāhrukh.[43] The enclosure built by Shāhrukh around Anṣārī's tomb in 829–30/1425–26 was the most significant religious structure sponsored by him in Herat.[44] Although no endowment deeds have survived from Shāhrukh's time, the shrine is referred to as having been well endowed by him.[45] Shāhrukh also initiated the Timurid practice of visiting the shrine on Thursdays,[46] and it became one of

[39] On these, see Paul, "Scheiche und Herrscher," 302–5.

[40] See Vāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* 1:316 where they are all called "*murshidān-i rāh-i ṭarīqat va rahbarān-i sabīl-i ḥaqīqat.*" On Aḥmad-i Jām, see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 244.

[41] For whom see Jean Aubin, ed., *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Niʿmatullah Wali Kermani* (Tehran: Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien; Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1956), 11–17; and R. M. Savory, "A 15th Century Ṣafavid Propagandist at Herāt," in *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semi-Centennial Volume: A Collection of Original Essays*, ed. Denis Sinor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 190–93.

[42] See Golombek, "Cult of Saints," 419. For pilgrimages to it performed by the Chaghatayids and others, see Saif b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Haravī, *Tārīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, ed. Muḥammad Zubair al-Ṣiddīqī (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1944), 656.

[43] Saif al-Haravī, *Tārīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, 141; and Golombek, *Timurid Shrine*, 81.

[44] Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:61; and Golombek, *Timurid Shrine*, 82–83. For a description of the buildings at the shrine, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:307–11. The construction of the enclosure around his grave that Lisa Golombek refers to as a *ḥaẓīra*-compound represented a concession to Anṣārī's strict Hanbalite stand against the construction of roofed funerary monuments—see Subtelny, "Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī," 387.

[45] See Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 305 where it is stated that the endowments consisted of *amlāk va asbāb*.

[46] Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, 30 (although, according to ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, he visited it only on the first Thursday of the month—Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 305). For the practice of associating certain days of the week with the visitation of particular shrines, see F. de Jong, "Cairene *Ziyâra*-Days: A Contribution to the Study of Saint Veneration in Islam," *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s., 17, nos. 1–4 (1976–77): 26–43.

the most important venues for popular sermonizing by the preacher-propagandists of the Timurid regime.[47]

Although the shrines of many other Sufi saints and Sunni scholars and traditionists were patronized by the Timurids throughout the fifteenth century, none was accorded the attention lavished on the Anṣārī shrine.[48] It is noteworthy that, in his list of the notable landmarks of Herat, Babur mentioned the shrine at Gāzurgāh in the first place when he visited in 912/1506.[49] It will be recalled that Sulṭan-Abū Saʿīd had the Jūy-i Sulṭānī irrigation canal constructed under the supervision of the *vazīr* Quṭb al-Dīn Ṭāʾus Simnānī, in 873/1468–69, to water the region of Gāzurgāh.[50] Even Abū al-Qāsim Babur contributed a beautifully carved marble headstone (*lauḥ*) and stele (*mīl*) to the shrine in 859/1454.[51]

During the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, the Anṣārī shrine reached the high-point of its development and political significance.[52] To underscore his claim to be descended from ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī in the ninth generation, Sulṭān-Ḥusain had a funerary platform built in the courtyard of the Gāzurgāh shrine in 882/1477–78 which housed the tombs of his father, uncle, and brothers.[53] Later, other family members—although

[47] Anṣārī had himself been a preacher renowned for the rhymed prose style favoured by Sufi shaikhs—see Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, 29; and Bo Utas, "The *Munājāt* or *Ilāhī-nāmah* of ʿAbdu'llāh Anṣārī," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1988): 84. During the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain, Sayyid Mīrak, the nephew of Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾullāh (d. 1520), a traditionist and professor at Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *madrasa* and the Khalāṣiyya *khānaqāh* of Mīr ʿAlīshīr, and a great-nephew of Amīr Sayyid Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥusainī, author of the *Maqṣad al-iqbāl*, regularly preached there on Thursdays—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:616.

[48] Such as those of the Sunni theologian Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī in Herat, the Sufis Aḥmad-i Jām at Jām, Farīẓ al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār in Nishapur, and Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in Khorazm. For a list of Timurid *mazārs* just in Herat, see Allen, *Catalogue*, 183–90. For Timurid patronage of shrines of individuals connected with ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, see Subtelny, "Cult of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī," 399.

[49] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 191a; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 305.

[50] See chap. 4, pp. 126–27 above.

[51] Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain*, vol. 2, pt. 3, 1085; and Golombek, *Timurid Shrine*, 84.

[52] See, for example, Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 280 where Sulṭān-Ḥusain states that he devoted "particular [attention] to the affairs of the shrine of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī." In another document he stated his intention to "increase the prestige and popularity" of the shrine—see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 138.

[53] See Golombek, *Timurid Shrine*, 85.

not Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself—were buried at the shrine, which by that time had developed into a prestigious necropolis.[54] A regular visitor to the shrine, Sulṭān-Ḥusain used it as a venue for important political pronouncements, such as his promise at the time of his accession to rule according to the prescriptions of the Sharī'a, and his exemption of the artisans of Herat from the payment of taxes for a period of two years.[55] Mīr 'Alīshīr Navā'ī, who became the shrine's honorary sweeper (*jārūbkash*) when he retired to it in 904/1499, also contributed a number of structures to the complex.[56]

The deeds of endowment pertaining to Gāzurgāh from Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time do not appear to have survived, but there are numerous references in the sources that endowments, consisting of arable lands, irrigation canals, mills, and commercial properties, were made to the shrine by Sulṭān-Ḥusain and members of the Timurid military and administrative elite.[57] There are also numerous references to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's exemption of the shrine's endowments from the payment of various kinds of taxes.[58] There can be no doubt that Sulṭān-Ḥusain made endowments to the shrine, because it was he who appointed its trustees. Those whom I have been able to identify as holding the post of trustee were all prominent members of the religious intelligentsia and administrative elite of Herat, but they all belonged to different families, so no single family held a monopoly on the trusteeship.[59]

[54] In 889/1484, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's favourite nephew, Muḥammad-Sulṭān Mīrzā (known as Kichik Mīrzā), who was the son of his eldest sister, Aka Beki, was buried in a mausoleum (*gunbad*) built by his father Sulṭān-Aḥmad, who was a great-grandson of Temür's—see Subtelny, "Cult of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī," 391. For examples of prominent sayyids and religious dignitaries who were buried here during the fifteenth century, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:11, 4:13, 4:106, 4:340, 4:342. For the widespread practice of burial near a saint's grave, see Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum*, 300.

[55] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:152, 4:174; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 2:372; and Subtelny, "Centralizing Reform," 130–31.

[56] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:239, 4:241–42; Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fols. 154a–155b; and Subtelny, "Cult of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī," 397.

[57] See, for example, the *vaqf* inscription dated 905/1500–1501, describing the endowments made to the shrine by Shujā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Burunduq, the leading Barlas *amīr* of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, in Saljūqī, *Gāzurgāh*, 26–27. See also Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 139.

[58] See, for example, the document exempting the *ḥaẓīra* of Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā from taxes in "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 123b–124b; and Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 172–74. See also the long list of taxes that the shrine was exempted from in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 139.

[59] Khvāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Marvārīd (d. 904/1498), a noble of Kerman and former *vazīr* of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's, who was the father of Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abdullāh al-Marvārīd (d. 922/1516), the author of the Timurid collection of chancery documents entitled *Sharaf-nāma*, simultaneously held the posts of *mutavallī* and shaikh of the shrine—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:329; and Khvāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā'*, 395–96. He was succeeded by Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Gāzurgāhī, who was a descendant on his mother's side of a sayyid family from Nishapur—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:325; Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fols. 176a–b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 280–81. He appears to have been replaced by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abdullāh Mihna'ī, a descendant of the eleventh-century Sufi shaikh, Abū Sa'īd b. Abī al-Khair, who was appointed to the post of shaikh and *sajjāda-nishīn* of the shrine and the *khānaqāh*—see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 133–37; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:325. Another trustee of the shrine was Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāẓimī, who was also appointed shaikh and *sajjāda-nishīn* of the *khānaqāh*—see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 137–39. I have not been able to identify him. Perhaps he is the Sayyid Kāẓimī who entered Sulṭān-Ḥusain's service at the start of his reign and was later sent to the Deccan as an emissary of the famous merchant Maḥmūd Gāvān—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:334.

Finally, and most significantly for our present discussion, the Anṣārī shrine appears to have played another unique and important role. As the longest-standing and most developed shrine complex in the capital region of Herat, it became a training ground for administrators of other shrine complexes. As demonstrated in chapter 4, Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, the author of the agricultural and hydrological manuals, *Irshād al-zirā'a* and *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, was an accountant employed at the shrine, and in many ways he epitomized the professionalization of its administration. Professional administrators and accountants like him would be sent to staff new Timurid shrine development projects, such as the one at Balkh, to be discussed below.[60]

The 'Alid shrine at Mashhad

The 'Alid shrine at Mashhad was also heavily patronized by the Timurids. Originally located in the village of Sanābād in the district of Tus, the shrine at the burial place of the eighth Shi'ite *imām*, 'Alī Riżā, experienced growth in the thirteenth century thanks to Ilkhanid patronage and pilgrimage to it.[61] But it was in the early fifteenth century, under Timurid patronage, that it developed into one of the largest cities in Khorasan, mainly at the expense of Tus-Nishapur.[62] Reverence for the family of the Prophet, or *ahl al-bait*, which included 'Alī and his

[60] See Subtelny, "Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," 194.

[61] For the early history of the shrine, see Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 257–58. According to Qazvīnī, by the early fourteenth century, Sanābād (Nūqān) had already become a small town—see Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 185; and Le Strange, *Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulub*, 149.

[62] Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:96, 2:62; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Mashhad" (by M. Streck), 714; and Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 105–8.

descendants, was not restricted to Shi'ites but was in fact an important feature of pre-Safavid Sunni devotion throughout the Islamic world.[63] Shāhrukh's many pilgrimages to the shrine were duly recorded in the official Timurid chronicles, as were his and his wife's donations of entire villages and other agricultural properties to the shrine's endowments.[64] Shāhrukh himself is not credited with the construction of any buildings at the shrine, however, as his attention appears to have been focused on the Anṣārī shrine at Herat. It was chiefly his wife Gauharshād and their son Baysunghur who provided the shrine with its architectural shape through their patronage of key buildings at the site, in particular the sumptuously decorated congregational mosque and *madrasa* adjacent to the tomb.[65] In her recent dissertation on the topic, May Farhat suggests that the Mashhad shrine had more universal "emotional" appeal than did the Anṣārī shrine, which she characterizes as responding more to the needs of "an intellectual and traditionist Islam."[66] While this subjective distinction may in some respects hold true, the fact that the Anṣārī shrine was located in the Timurid capital perforce made it the symbolic locus of the Timurids' politico-religious ambitions.

Again, it was the construction or reconstruction of irrigation works that made the development of the shrine region possible. This included the construction (or reconstruction) of the Gulistān checkdam (*band*) by Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd on a branch of the Kashaf river above Mashhad. According to a decree issued by Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd after its completion, all the lands watered by the dam were to be purchased from their owners, and if they belonged to pious endowments, these were to be deconstituted by means of the legal procedure called *istibdāl* (i.e., exchange) and made the property of the royal privy purse (*khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*).[67]

[63] See McChesney, *Waqf*, 33–34. It may be noted that the shrine of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in nearby Tus was also patronized by Sulṭān-Ḥusain—see the diploma of appointment for the shaikh and *sajjāda-nishīn* of the shrine, in Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 140.

[64] The most significant such pilgrimage visit appears to have been in 814/1412, exactly one year after Shāhrukh's proclamation of the abrogation of the *törä*—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:584; and Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dain*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 214. See also Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:95, 1:99, 2:61–62.

[65] For Timurid architectural patronage of the shrine, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:328–36, nos. 90–95; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 119–30, 167–77, 179–87, 227–37; and Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy," 82–113.

[66] See Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy," 94.

[67] See "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fol. 34b–35a; and Navā'ī, *Asnād*, 313. For a translation of the edict, see app. 3.

Mashhad itself was provisioned with water thanks to the construction of a canal from the distant Gul (or Gīlās) spring on the initiative of Mīr 'Alīshīr. Daulatshāh regarded this as the most outstanding of Mīr 'Alīshīr's numerous philanthropic activities in Khorasan, and it apparently included a dam at nearby Ṭuruq.[68]

While prominent members of the Timurid elite are known to have been involved in the administration of the shrine, it was not dominated by any particular family.[69] The shrine's administrators, however, must have represented a powerful corporate group, for it was to them that Ḥusain Kāshifī dedicated his *Futuwwat-nāma-i sulṭānī*, a work on ethical codes of behaviour.[70] Their involvement in agriculture and agricultural management is attested by the fact that one of the best extant manuscripts of the Timurid agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirā'a* was copied by an administrator (*khādim*) of the shrine.[71] The foundation laid by the Timurids was subsequently built upon by the Safavids, who added to the shrine's endowment base and turned it into a Shi'ite alternative to the pilgrimage to Mecca.[72] Even in modern times, the shrine at Mashhad continues to function as an "agro-business," representing one of the most extensive, if not the most extensive, landholdings of this type in the world. Its main investments are still in agriculture, but since the revival of *vaqf* in post-revolutionary Iran, its endowments have been managed like a large capitalist enterprise ("une grande entreprise capitaliste"), to cite Bernard Hourcade, a situation reminiscent of Timurid times.[73]

[68] Daulatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, 506; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 301–2; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:332, no. 91B; and Clevenger, "Dams in Ḫorāsān," 393–94. For the spring, which had earlier provisioned the neighbouring town of Tus with water, see Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim-Imām, *Mashhad-i Ṭūs: Yak faṣl az tārīkh va jughrāfiyā-yi tārīkhī-i Khurāsān* (Tehran, 1348/1970), 148–49. For 'Alīshīr's other patronage activities relating to the shrine, see Khvāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, fol. 146a; and O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 313–14.

[69] At one point toward the end of the fifteenth century, Mīr 'Alīshīr's first cousin Amīr Ḥaidar b. Amīr Sayyid Āqā, who had been a member of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment as an *ichki*, was in charge of the administration—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:243 (although for *khān* read *khāl*).

[70] See Ḥusain [b. 'Alī] Sabzavārī Vā'iẓ Kāshifī, *Futuwwat-nāma-i sulṭānī*, ed. Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb (Tehran, 1350/1971), 4.

[71] In 1182/1768, by a certain Mīr Ḥusain b. Riżā Ḥusainī. This manuscript copy was the basis for Mushīrī's edition—see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirā'a*, iii.

[72] For the Safavid endowments to the shrine, see Uṭāridī, *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds* 2:553ff. It is noteworthy that Shāh 'Abbās reconstructed the above-mentioned canal built by Mīr 'Alīshīr and conveyed it to *vaqf* for the shrine—see Qudratullāh Raushanī, "Vaqfnāma-i āb-i khiyābān-i Mashhad," *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* 28 (1369/1990): 320–25.

[73] See Hourcade, "*Vaqf* et modernité," 121, 135.

A New Timurid Development Project: The ʿAlid Shrine at Balkh

Miraculous rediscovery or pious fraud?

A striking example of a new Timurid development project centred on an endowed shrine complex was the ʿAlid shrine at Balkh, begun immediately after it miraculously came to light in 885/1480–81, only a decade after Sulṭān-Ḥusain took over in Khorasan.[74] The purported tomb of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in law of the Prophet Muḥammad, fourth Orthodox caliph, and first Shiʿite *imām*, located a few kilometres east of Balkh in the village of Khvāja Khairān (today known as Mazar-i Sharif), served as a pretext for the hydrological development and agricultural expansion of the Balkh region.[75] The Balkh region had since ancient times been an extremely fertile and productive one, but it had fallen into neglect as a result of the Mongol invasions.[76] This new re/development project, which was initiated by Sulṭān-Ḥusain with the active participation of prominent members of the Timurid elite, was probably necessitated by the fact that the agricultural expansion of the Herat oasis had reached its limits, since the irrigation network from the Harirud river could not be extended any further.[77]

It appears that this was not the first time that a tomb had been discovered at the Khvāja Khairān site. According to the Andalusian traveller Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1169–70), an ʿAlid shrine already existed there in the twelfth century, having been "rediscovered" in

[74] For the fullest account of the discovery, see ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī, *Tārīkhcha-i Mazār-i Sharīf*, ed. Māyil Haravī (Kabul, 1349/1970), 24ff. See also Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:160–61; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:171–74. For a translation of the passage in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, see McChesney, *Waqf*, 31–32; and W. M. Thackston, comp. and trans., *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989), 213–15.

[75] The title *khwāja*, which was associated with privileged social groups who traced their descent to an Arab tribe or to the Prophet Muḥammad, is extremely widespread as a component in place names in Central Asia, especially those located in agriculturally developed regions and on important irrigation systems. See R. Ia. Rassudova, "Termin *khodzha* v toponimii Srednei Azii," in *Onomastika Srednei Azii*, ed. V. A. Nikonov and A. M. Reshetov (Moscow: Nauka, 1978), 116, 120.

[76] See Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 11ff.

[77] For an estimate of the size of the Herat oasis (ca. 30–40 sq km), see Vavilov and Bukinich, *Zemledel'cheskii Afganistan*, 146, 149.

530/1135–36 during the reign of the Seljuq ruler Sanjar (1097–1157).[78] Corroborating evidence is provided by ʿAlī al-Harawī in his pilgrimage guide, who mentions the existence of the tomb of ʿAlī in the town (which he refers to simply as al-Khair), although he expresses doubts about its authenticity.[79] ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī (d. 912/1506), the Timurid historian of the shrine, states that Sultan Sanjar replaced the tombstone that had been uncovered at the site with a new one, and he had the date of the rediscovery inscribed on it.[80] The twelfth-century dating of the tombstone has been confirmed by modern art historians on the basis of an epigraphical analysis of its inscription.[81] Moreover, all contemporary and later accounts credit Sultan Sanjar with being the first to endow the shrine and to develop the surrounding region through his governor at Balkh, ʿImād al-Dīn Qumaj.[82]

It would thus be neither fair nor accurate to label the Timurid "rediscovery" a pious fraud, since the site had already been regarded as sacred well before the Timurids.[83] Moreover, although no Buddhist or other sanctuary has ever been identified as having been located here in pre-Islamic times, the possibility cannot be discounted, given the historically-attested practice of razing non-Muslim sites not just to make way for Islamic ones but also to transform and refocus the sanctity associated with the space within the new Islamic framework.[84]

[78] See Gabriel Ferrand, ed., "Le *Tuḥfat al-albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī, édité d'après les mss. 2167, 2168, 2170 de la Bibliothèque nationale et le ms. d'Alger," *Journal asiatique* 207 (July–September 1925): 145–48; Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 26; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 27–28.

[79] Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 198 (the reference to the *Tuḥfat al-albāb* in the accompanying note is incorrect). See Ferrand, "Le *Tuḥfat al-albāb*," 145; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 28–29.

[80] Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 28–29.

[81] See Lisa Golombek, "Mazār-i Sharīf—A Case of Mistaken Identity?" in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977), 343, plate 17.

[82] See Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 28. For ʿImād al-Dīn Qumaj, see C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217)," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 153. It is interesting to note that this was not the only ʿAlid shrine that was discovered and developed under the Seljuqs. Another was found in Aleppo under the Seljuq governor, Aq Sunqur (r. 1123), as a result of a holy man's dream vision of ʿAlī—see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 183–84. The latter account is highly reminiscent of Gharnāṭī's.

[83] Bartol'd called it "one of the crudest frauds in the Muslim cult of saints." See Bartol'd, *Mir Ali-Shir*, 235.

[84] See Warwick Ball, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan/Catalogue des sites archéologiques d'Afghanistan*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 1:181, no. 716.

Josef Meri's observation concerning the construction of sacred space, which was based on Mircea Eliade's ideas that some of the most ancient holy sites in the Near East were never "invented" but rather "rediscovered," is applicable to the case of this Timurid shrine.[85] In Eliade's view, sacred places are never "chosen" by man; rather, they reveal themselves to him at particular points in history, and he merely "rediscovers" them.[86] This notion is supported by the language of the Timurid sources, which consistently refer to the shrine's "manifestation" (*ẓuhūr*), and to the shrine itself as the "locus of manifestation" (*mazhar*), rather than to its "discovery" by any particular individual.[87]

Moreover, as attested in accounts from the tenth century onward, the process of rediscovery, particularly in the case of tombs of the *ahl al-bait*, followed a typical pattern that involved an individual experiencing a dream vision of the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, or a mythical figure like Khiḍr, who informed him about the location of the tomb, which he then communicated to the local authorities.[88] The account of the Timurid rediscovery offers a sophisticated variant of the dream motif that would have appealed to the Timurids intellectually, since the person who provided the information about the location of the tomb was himself a Sufi who claimed descent from the ninth-century Persian mystic and visionary Bāyazīd Basṭāmī.[89]

One would think that the addition of yet another site to an already long list of locations where ʿAlī was allegedly buried would have presented a problem, but in fact ʿAlī was not the only Islamic sacred figure with multiple burial places throughout the Middle East; moreover, doubts regarding his actual place of burial had never really been

On the latter point, see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 30–31. For the foundation of ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī's Ikhlāṣiyya complex on the former site of a Nestorian Christian church and monastery in Herat, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 43.

[85] See Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 43–44. For examples of the "rediscovery" of the burial places of important religious figures in Palestine, such as the grave of Joseph in Hebron, see Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage," 33–34.

[86] Mircea Eliade, *Le sacré et le profane* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1965), 31. Compare Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 91.

[87] See, for example, Ferrand, "Le *Tuḥfat al-albāb*," 145; Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 25; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:160–61; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:171 (where the account is entitled *Ẕikr-i ẓuhūr-i mazārī bihisht-nishān keh mansūb ast bi-ḥażrat-i Shāh-i mardān* (Account of the manifestation of the paradisal tomb attributed to His Excellency, the King of men, i.e., ʿAlī).

[88] See Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 181–85; and Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*, 51–53.

[89] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172.

dispelled among the Sunnite population.[90] More importantly, however, the rapidity with which the Timurid authorities and the religious elite of Herat moved to confirm the tomb's authenticity helped to secure its acceptance by the masses, an all-important prerequisite for its canonization in the popular imagination.[91] The collusion between the political and religious authorities in the episode of the tomb's rediscovery set the pattern for subsequent state-shrine relations.[92] A crucial role in bringing the rediscovery to light was played by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's brother Bayqara Mīrzā, who was governor of Balkh at the time, and who acted on information provided by a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, an alleged descendant of Bāyazīd Basṭāmī, concerning the whereabouts of the tomb, based on a chronicle dating from Sultan Sanjar's time that may well have been Gharnāṭī's *Tuḥfat al-albāb*.[93] It was Bayqara who convened the religious elite and notables of Balkh in whose presence the tombstone was excavated, and he immediately informed his brother in Herat, who visited the site accompanied by his chief *amīr*s.[94] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), the prominent Naqshbandī Sufi of Herat, composed a poem about the tomb's miraculous "manifestation," and his

[90] Although ʿAlī is generally believed by Shiʿites to have been buried at Najaf in Iraq, the location of his grave was kept secret at the time of his death; hence, it always remained something of a mystery. See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib" (by L. Veccia Vaglieri), 385; and Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shiʿism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 26. For Ibn Taimiyya's *responsum* to the question where the grave of ʿAlī was "truly and actually located," see Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle*, 66. For the phenomenon of multiple burial sites of important Islamic and Jewish saints and prophets in the Near East, see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 177–78 (for shrines of al-Khaḍir/Khiḍr), 191 (for the burial place of the head of ʿAlī's son, Ḥusain), 224–27 (for Elijah). For the phenomenon in Central Asia, see J. Paul, "The Histories of Samarqand," *Studia Iranica* 22, no. 1 (1993): 80.

[91] On this point, see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 163.

[92] Admirably documented in McChesney, *Waqf*.

[93] See Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 24–25; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:160–61; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:171–72. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad cannot be identified from the sources. The Shaikh Raẓī al-Dīn Aḥmad, in whose library the book was found according to one of the versions of the story, might be identified with Raẓī al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1366), the well-known shaikh of Jām, who had been a trustee of the shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām. The whole story is by no means clear or consistent, and it was further embellished in the popular history of the shrine by Ḥāfiẓ Nūr Muḥammad, *Tārikh-i Mazār-i Sharīf, vāqiʿ-i Balkh* (Kabul, 1325/1946), 30. Khvāndamīr concludes his account of the entire episode with the words "Only God knows the truth of these matters"—Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:174.

[94] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172.

disciple ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī wrote a brief history of the entire episode.[95] A descendant of Temür's spiritual mentor, Sayyid Baraka, was appointed as the *naqīb* of the shrine, and the descendant of Bāyazīd Basṭāmī, who figured in the tomb's rediscovery, was appointed shaikh.[96]

The Timurid authorities claimed exclusive right to the rediscovery, as demonstrated by the ruthlessness with which they suppressed a number of subsequent "copycat" discoveries. When a popular faction claimed to have discovered yet another ʿAlid burial site, this time near the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh, the rival claimants, who had managed to garner considerable support among the radical fringe elements of the city and to enrich themselves through donations made by people seeking miraculous cures, were arrested, flogged, and imprisoned on Sulṭān-Ḥusain's orders by the *muḥtasib* of Herat, Kamāl al-Dīn Shaikh-Ḥusain.[97] The message conveyed by this incident was that there was room for only one ʿAlid shrine, and that it had to be under the control of Timurid state and religious authorities.

Promotion as an alternative pilgrimage destination

The rediscovery of the burial place of ʿAlī, who in the eastern Sunni Islamic world was regarded as a charismatic figure, exerted a powerful attraction for the popular imagination, and people began to visit the tomb site in large numbers.[98] With pilgrims came votive offerings, and

[95] See Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, "Ẓuhūr-i rauża-i mutabarraka-i Ḥażrat ʿAlī," MS, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, B 2984, fols. 178b–179b. For a description of the manuscript, which dates from the mid nineteenth century, see O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR: Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog*, 2 pts. (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), no. 2910. The poem, which is a *qaṣīda*, is reproduced in Nūr Muḥammad, *Tārīkh*, 32–33. Although some scholars have expressed reservations about Jāmī's authorship, I see no reason to doubt its authenticity. In fact, his *qaṣīda* may have served as a model for such later works as the anonymous poem about the places of visitation in Ghazna, for which see Szuppe, "Une description des lieux de pèlerinage," 1167–88. For the reference to Lārī's history, see n. 74 above.

[96] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172. For the diploma of appointment of Tāj al-Dīn Ḥusain Andikhvudī, Sayyid Baraka's descendant, see "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 157a–158a.

[97] The site was apparently located on a platform (*takht*) near the funerary enclosure (*ḥaẓīra*) of Shams al-Dīn Sangtarāsh. The instigator of the claim was a carter from Herat, whose supporters are referred to as *qalandars* (i.e., wandering dervishes) and *tabarrāʾīs* (i.e., Shiʿite propagandists)—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:173–74; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 35–36 (note, however, that the rival sites were in the Herat region).

[98] Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 32–33.

Khvāndamīr reports that the shrine's annual income from these alone totalled approximately 1 million *dīnārs*.[99] This may be compared with the annual income of the shrine of Shaikh Luqmān Paranda in Herat, which was only about 150,000 *kapakī dīnārs*.[100] Immediately after the tomb's "rediscovery," Sulṭān-Ḥusain constructed a domed mausoleum (*qubba*) over it and started the commercial development of the village of Khvāja Khairān, constructing a bazaar, shops, and a bath, thus beginning its transformation from a sleepy village into a major shrine town and pilgrimage destination.[101]

All of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's actions point to an attempt on his part to promote the shrine as an alternative to the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was the first to make visitation to the shrine in a way that emulated the *ḥajj* pilgrimage rites of sanctification (*iḥrām*) and circumambulation (*ṭavāf*) of the tomb, and in a formal edict issued by his chancery, he referred to the shrine as "that *qibla* of good fortune of all peoples and that Kaʿba of the hopes of Arabs and non-Arabs alike."[102] Some Timurid authors, such as Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfizārī, even implied that those who went on the pilgrimage to Mecca were mistaken in choosing the Kaʿba as their destination, since the ʿAlid shrine was the true object of pilgrimage.[103] In making this point, Isfizārī played on a well-known verse by the Persian mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, in which he substituted the word *maqṣūd* (pilgrimage site or destination) for Rūmī's original reference to the divine Beloved (*maʿshūq*):[104]

> O you people who have set out on the *ḥajj*, where are you going? Where are you going?
> Your destination (*maqṣūd*) is right here! Come! Come![105]

[99] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:173. 100 *kapakī tūmāns* equalled 1 million *dīnārs*.

[100] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:323.

[101] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172.

[102] See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 279. See also Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172–73 who refers to it as "that threshold of the Kaʿba" (*ān 'ataba-i Kaʿba*).

[103] For a parallel phenomenon in medieval Judaism, see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 223, 237 (where he notes that performing pilgrimage to Ezekiel's tomb in Babylonia was regarded by Iraqi Jews as "the Jewish equivalent to the hajj").

[104] In the pilgrimage guides, the term *maqṣūd* referred to a shrine that was much frequented—see Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 178.

[105] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:161; also cited by Lārī, *Tārīkhcha*, 25. For the verse, see Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kulliyāt-i Shams yā Dīwān-i kabīr*, ed. Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, 10 vols. in 9 (repr. ed., Tehran, 1363/1984), 2: no. 648, line 1.

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's motives for promoting pilgrimage to the shrine and for his patronage of it were not in the first instance ideological, as would be the case later on under the Safavids, who promoted Mashhad as an alternative pilgrimage destination for Shi'ites living in the eastern Islamic world; rather, his motives were purely pragmatic, designed to keep endowment revenues in Khorasan. This is vividly illustrated by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's response to a complaint by the agent (*vakīl*) entrusted with collecting the income from the pious endowments in Khorasan for the Ḥaramain (i.e., the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina), a large number of which were located in the region of Andikhud.[106] Sulṭān-Ḥusain had a legal opinion (*fatvā*) written to the effect that the Ḥaramain were not entitled to the income because it was already being used to support the many sayyids who had come from the Holy Cities and were living in Khorasan.[107] This was a well-reasoned excuse for not sending what apparently constituted a "considerable sum of money" annually to Arabia from Khorasan, which would have represented a substantial financial loss to the region.[108]

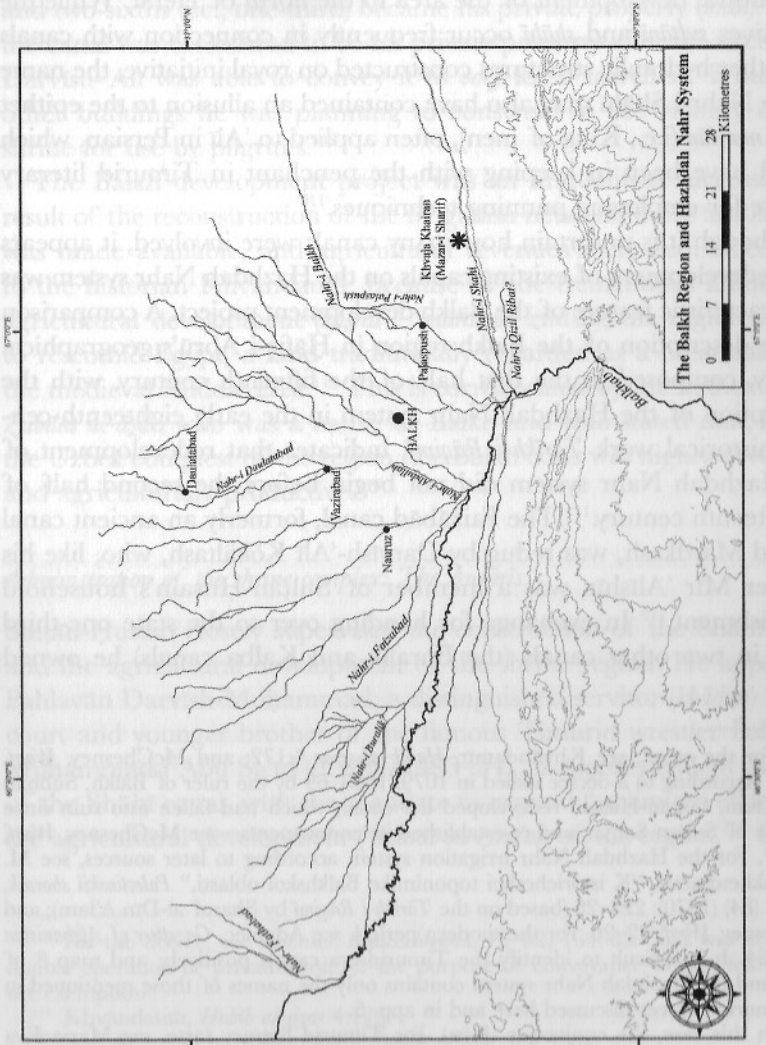
Hydrological and agricultural development of the Hazhdah Nahr region

It is no coincidence that the twelfth-century 'Alid shrine should have been revived by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, whose role in the agricultural development of Khorasan was compared in the sources to that of the last Seljuq ruler of Khorasan, Sultan Sanjar, who apparently first developed the site. The core of the Balkh development project was the construction of the Nahr-i Shāhī (Royal canal) from the Balkh river (Balkhab) in order to provide water to the shrine and its immediate vicinity. This was in fact an old canal that had fallen into disuse and that was now redug. Significantly, it was part of the Hazhdah Nahr (Eighteen canals) irrigation network that fanned out from the Balkh river to irrigate the

[106] For the practice of endowing properties for the benefit of the Ḥaramain in medieval Islam, see Lev, *Charity*, 76–81.

[107] Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 83; and "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fol. 74b. This was clearly a reference to the descendants of Sayyid Baraka, Temür's spiritual adviser, who had himself been in charge of collecting the revenues from the pious endowments of Khorasan that were destined for the Ḥaramain, because most of the Andikhud region had been granted to him as a *vaqf* by the Timurids—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:54; Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:171; and Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:415–16.

[108] Isfizārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt* 1:171.



Map 3. The Balkh Region and Hazhdah Nahr System.

province of Balkh.[109] The canal's location close to the shrine and its construction under royal patronage are reminiscent of the Jūy-i Sulṭānī canal, which had been constructed in the vicinity of the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh by Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's *vazīr* in order to make possible the agricultural development of the area to the north of Herat. While the adjectives *sulṭānī* and *shāhī* occur frequently in connection with canals and other hydraulic structures constructed on royal initiative, the name of the Nahr-i Shāhī may also have contained an allusion to the epithet *shāh-i mardān* (i.e., King of men), often applied to ʿAlī in Persian, which would have been in keeping with the penchant in Timurid literary culture for employing punning techniques.[110]

Although it is uncertain how many canals were involved, it appears that redevelopment of existing canals on the Hazhdah Nahr system was a characteristic feature of the Balkh development project. A comparison of the description of the Balkh region in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's geographical history, composed in the first half of the fifteenth century, with the description of the Hazhdah Nahr system in the early eighteenth-century historical work *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, indicates that redevelopment of the Hazhdah Nahr system did not begin before the second half of the fifteenth century.[111] The Faiżābād canal, formerly an ancient canal named Mardkash, was redug by Darvīsh-ʿAlī Kökältash, who, like his brother Mīr ʿAlīshīr, was a member of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment.[112] In exchange for handing over to the state one-third share in two other canals (the Buralik and Kalba canals) he owned

[109] For the canal, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 40–41. According to a decree issued in 1079/1668–69 by the ruler of Balkh, Subḥān Quli Khan, Sulṭān-Ḥusain redeveloped the canal, which had fallen into ruin since the time of Sultan Sanjar, and re-established its endowments—see McChesney, *Waqf*, 140–41. For the Hazhdah Nahr irrigation system according to later sources, see M. A. Salakhetdinova, "K istoricheskoi toponimike Balkhskoi oblasti," *Palestinskii sbornik*, vyp. 21 (84) (1970): 223–26 (based on the *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī* by Sharaf al-Dīn Aʿlam); and McChesney, *Waqf*, 22–26. For the modern period, see Adamec, *Gazetteer of Afghanistan* 4:249–64. It is difficult to identify the Timurid-era canals positively, and map 3 of Balkh and the Hazhdah Nahr system contains only the names of those mentioned in the Timurid sources discussed here and in app. 5.

[110] In this case, the equivoque (*īhām*). For Timurid literary taste, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "A Taste for the Intricate: The Persian Poetry of the Late Timurid Period," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136, no. 1 (1986): 71–72. See also McChesney, *Waqf*, 41.

[111] See Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 1:64–74, 2:50–53; and Salakhetdinova, "K istoricheskoi toponimike," 223–28.

[112] The ancient name Mardkash (or Mardakash) refers to the technical irrigation term *marda*, for which see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 21, 27, 29.

on the Hazhdah Nahr system, Darvīsh-ʿAlī was granted ownership of two-thirds share in the Faiżābād canal. It was apparently the custom in the Balkh region that when an individual re/dug an irrigation canal, four-sixths (i.e., two-thirds) of it became the property of the state (*dīvān*), and two-sixths (i.e., one-third) became his private property (*milk*). Since the canal was considered to be his private property after the exchange, Darvīsh-ʿAlī was able to convey it to *vaqf* for a travellers' hostel and other buildings he was planning to construct in the vicinity of the shrine for use by pilgrims.[113]

The Balkh development project was an unqualified success. As a result of the reconstruction of the irrigation network, more arable land was made available, and agricultural revenues increased. According to the historian Khvāndamīr, because of the tremendous amount of agricultural development (*kaṣrat-i ʿimārat va zirāʿat*), the region started to resemble Egypt, a land traditionally regarded as a breadbasket in the medieval Middle East.[114] This is corroborated by the author of the *Ẓubdat al-āṣār*, who was a native of Balkh and who stated that, before the Uzbek conquest of the region, the Balkh oasis was highly developed and agriculturally productive.[115]

Administration of the shrine complex: The Anṣārīs

Sulṭān-Ḥusain closely supervised the construction of the Shāhī canal and the agricultural development of the shrine region. He appointed Pahlavān Darvīsh-Muḥammad, a distinguished servitor (*khādim*) of the court and younger brother of the famous Timurid wrestler Pahlavān Muḥammad-i Abū Saʿīd (d. 899/1493–94), as superintendent (*dārūgha*) of the Shāhī canal, with the mandate to expend "unlimited efforts" on the agricultural development (*ʿimārat va zirāʿat*) of the region.[116] Qivām

[113] For the decree, see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 79–82, 164–65. This was actually a double operation of privatization for the purpose of conveyance to *vaqf*, followed by tax exemption.

[114] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:173.

[115] See ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad, *Ẓubdat al-āṣār*, fol. 465a.

[116] For Pahlavān Darvīsh-Muḥammad, see Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois*, 163; and Alisher Navoi, *Sochineniia* 9:119 ("Sobranie izbrannykh"). For Pahlavān Muḥammad-i Abū Saʿīd, see Alisher Navoii, *Mazholisun nafois*, 136; Alīshīr Navāʾī, *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, 89–91; and Alisher Navoi, *Sochineniia* 9:215–16 ("Zhizneopisanie Pakhlavana Mukhammada"). For his diploma of appointment, preserved in Khvāndamīr's *Nāma-i nāmī*, see Gottfried Herrmann, "Das historische Gehalt des *Nāmā-ye nāmī* von Ḫândamīr" (PhD diss., Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen, 1968), 1:71, 2:23–25. The term

al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim, an administrator from the central finance office (*dīvān*), who belonged to an old bureaucratic family, was appointed agricultural manager (*ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirāʿat*) and put in charge of all matters connected with irrigation (*muhimmāt-i kārīzī*).[117]

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's general policy appears to have been to appoint professional administrators and not his own relatives or favourites to manage the shrine. In addition to above-mentioned appointments, he sent "reliable functionaries" (*ʿamala-i amīn*) from Herat to administer the shrine's endowments (*mauqūfāt*) and votive offerings (*nuzūrāt*).[118] Nothing more is known about these functionaries at the end of the fifteenth century. However, by the mid seventeenth century, it appears that the shrine's administration was firmly in the hands of a family named Anṣārī, which Robert McChesney surmised may have come out of the group of those "reliable functionaries" who had been sent from Herat to administer the newly founded shrine in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time.[119]

I would like to develop this hypothesis further and propose that "Anṣārī" was originally the ascriptive designation for those functionaries who had been sent to Balkh from the Anṣārī shrine in Herat. As the most important Timurid shrine complex in Khorasan during the late Timurid period, the Anṣārī shrine must have functioned as a kind of "Harvard Business School" of shrine management in its day, and it would have been the obvious source of experienced personnel to staff the newly established ʿAlid shrine at Balkh. Hence, the personnel who were sent to Balkh from Herat were referred to as "Anṣārīs." Over time, the hereditary nature of their administrative positions at the ʿAlid shrine transformed the professional designation into a family name. Moreover, once they constituted a descent group, the Anṣārīs asserted their claim to be descended from ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī himself.[120]

dārūgha, which originally denoted a military governor, was often used in the late Timurid period for a person fulfilling a supervisory function.

[117] I have not been able to identify him. For his diploma of appointment, see Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 278–79. The document contains a reference to the year of the Tiger in the animal calendar, which corresponds to 997/1482–83, less than two years after the "rediscovery" of the shrine. For a translation, see app. 4.

[118] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172. The term *ʿāmil* (pl. *ʿamala*) denoted clerks or functionaries, especially those connected with financial matters.

[119] See McChesney, *Waqf*, 45.

[120] For the family's claim, see the decree issued in 1079/1668–69 by Subḥān Quli Khan, the ruler of Balkh, which states that a certain Mīrzā Abū al-Ḥasan Anṣārī, who had been sent by Sulṭān-Ḥusain to administer the shrine, was descended on the paternal side from ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī—McChesney, *Waqf*, 141; and Nūr Muḥammad,

Such a retrospective claim to descent from a famous Sufi saint is by no means unusual in the history of privileged Iranian and Central Asian families associated with the trusteeship of shrines, who sought thereby to increase their social prestige and bolster their claims to emoluments connected with the administration of a particular saint's shrine.[121] What is unusual about the Anṣārī family's retrospective genealogical claim is that it did not seek to connect itself to the holy person whose shrine it administered (i.e., ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), but rather to a Sufi saint whose tomb was located elsewhere! Given that there are no indications in the Timurid sources that the functionaries sent to Balkh from Herat were in any way related to the eleventh-century Sufi patron saint of Herat, this further supports my contention that the origins of the family name were connected with the administrators of the Anṣārī shrine in Herat during the late Timurid period.

Sulṭān-Ḥusain's endowments to the shrine

Although the charter deeds of endowment are not extant, it is possible to form an idea of the extent of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's endowments to the ʿAlid shrine at Balkh from the Timurid historical sources. Chief among the properties conveyed by Sulṭān-Ḥusain to *vaqf* for the shrine was the Nahr-i Shāhī canal mentioned above, which constituted the core of the shrine's endowments. Sulṭān-Ḥusain also constructed a number of buildings in Khvāja Khairān to accommodate pilgrims to the shrine, including a bazaar, shops, and a bath. These too must have been conveyed to *vaqf* for the shrine, as they are mentioned by Khvāndamīr together with Sulṭān-Ḥusain's donation of the Nahr-i Shāhī canal.[122]

In addition, it appears that Sulṭān-Ḥusain systematically privatized agricultural properties and water shares that belonged to the state in

Tārīkh, 65. Perhaps he is the Qivām al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim mentioned above? The title *mīrzā*, however, is clearly anachronistic, since it could only be borne by members of the Timurid royal family. See the doubts expressed about the family's claims in McChesney, *Waqf*, 45, 251–52; and my review of McChesney, *Waqf* in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55, no. 1 (1996): 49–52.

[121] See, for example, Devin DeWeese, "The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th-Century Central Asia: Descent Groups Linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 4 (1999): 507–30. Compare also the claim of the administrators (*khuddām*) of the shrine of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī at Ajmer to be descended from him—see Currie, *Shrine and Cult of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī*, 146–47.

[122] Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:172; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 39.

the Balkh region in order to convey them to *vaqf* for the shrine. Before launching into a detailed discussion of these and of the legal issues connected with the privatization of state land, we might speculate about Sulṭān-Ḥusain's motives for doing so. As already indicated, state land was notoriously unproductive, largely because it was poorly managed. To cite an instructive example from Sulṭān-Ḥusain's time, in a diploma of appointment he issued for a deputy charged with increasing the productivity of lands belonging to the state and privy purse (*khāliṣāt va khāṣṣa*), the reasons given for the drastic decline in their revenues include the fact that properties had fallen into neglect, that irrigation canals were on the verge of collapse, that rental agreements had gone unascribed, and that funds had been embezzled.[123] By privatizing the properties in question and conveying them to *vaqf* for the ʿAlid shrine, Sulṭān-Ḥusain must have hoped to increase their productivity thanks to the kind of professional management that would have been available through the administration of the shrine complex.

Legal Issues: The Privatization of State Land by Sulṭān-Ḥusain

Theoretically, a distinction was made in Islamic law between state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī* or *mamlaka-i pādshāhī*), which belonged to the public treasury (*bait al-māl*), and land belonging to the royal privy purse (*khāṣṣa*), which was the property of the ruler and his family.[124] The public treasury was considered the common property of the Muslim community, held in trust by the ruler, who could not buy or sell property belonging to it of his own accord.[125] In practice, however, the distinction between public

[123] Isfizārī, *Tarassul*, fols. 43a–44b (my foliation). Although the document is undated, Isfizārī's collection was compiled ca. 1487–90—see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Esfezārī" (by Maria E. Subtelny), 596.

[124] The terms *khāliṣa-i sulṭānī* and *mamlaka-i pādshāhī* were used synonymously during this period to denote state land, or crown land following British Commonwealth usage. See Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 235–47; Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 330, 359; Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov*, 32–33; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 238–58; Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung*, 114, 139; McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 33–38; and Mansoureh Ettehadieh Nezam-Mafi, "The *Khāliṣah* of Varamin," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 1 (1993): 5 (for early modern Iran). For the distinction between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa*, see Minovi and Minorsky, "Ṭūsī on Finance," 771–77; and Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 235ff., 245ff.

[125] For the juridical status of the *bait al-māl*, see Aghnides, *Islamic Theories of Finance*, 423–24; Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 125; and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Bayt al-māl, i. The Legal Doctrine" (by N. J. Coulson), 1142.

and private funds was often blurred, as attested by numerous cases of the misappropriation of funds from the public treasury by medieval Muslim rulers, including for the purpose of establishing pious endowments.[126] For this reason, endowment deeds drawn up on behalf of the ruler frequently contained an explicit statement to the effect that the properties that were being conveyed to *vaqf* were the private property of the ruler and had never belonged to the category of state land.[127] In the *Naṣā'iḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, the Hanafite jurist Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qāyinī warned Shāhrukh about the illegality of misappropriating state land, which he explained belonged to the public treasury:

> The sovereign has [under his authority] much ancient state land (*zamīn-i mamlakat*), that is to say, lands which he does not own and to which, clearly, no one has a right except the public treasury (*bait al-māl*), and it would be fraudulent for him or his military to [appropriate] any of it.[128]

Pious endowments constituted from such properties would thus have been regarded as null and void by the more religiously minded, and their revenues declared unlawful.[129]

In order to create a pious endowment from lands belonging to the state, it was first necessary to privatize them, because *vaqf* could only be constituted from *milk*, or property that was privately owned. This entailed transferring land from one legal category to another, something

[126] See George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and in the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 42–43; Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov*, 32; Shatzmiller, "'Waqf Khayrī'," 202–3 (for cases from the North African context); *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Wakf, iii. In Persia" (by Ann K. S. Lambton), 81–86; and most recently, Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity?" 100ff.

[127] By way of example, in the endowment deed of the Qara Qoyunlu ruler Yūsuf Bahadur Khan b. Jahānshāh for the shrine of the Shi'ite *imām* Aḥmad b. Mūsā in Shiraz (charter deed dated 879/1474–75; copy dated 1054/1644), the statement reads, "the aforementioned village and gardens...have never belonged to the category of state land" (*hargaz dākhil-i ḥauza-i mamlakat nabūda*)—see *Vaqf-nāma* of Yūsuf b. Jahānshāh, MS, Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 5138. For a description of the document, see Yūsuf Iʿtiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, 38 vols. to date (Tehran, 1311/1933–), 15:199–200.

[128] al-Qāyinī, *Naṣā'iḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, fol. 205a.

[129] One is reminded of Ḥāfiẓ's criticism of the perceived unlawfulness of the sources of *auqāf* in his time:

> The jurisprudent (*faqīh*) at the *madrasa* got drunk last night and issued a legal opinion (*fatvā*),
> [Which stated] that wine is absolutely forbidden (*harām*), but it is better (i.e., more lawful) than the revenues of pious endowments.

—see Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān*, no. 44, line 3.

that could only be done with the collaboration of the Hanafite judiciary. Even in the case of lands owned by the ruler's family, it appears that it was still advisable to effect this transfer legally because of (a) the lack of a clear distinction between state lands and those belonging to the privy purse, and (b) the possibility of doubt arising as to the lawfulness of a *vaqf* constituted from properties that had at one time belonged to the state.[130] In the interpretation of Central Asian jurists from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, the privatization of state lands could be effected legally by means of an arm's-length transaction that involved a buy-back procedure.[131] The existence of copies of two notary documents that outline the procedure in detail and that were drawn up in the name of Sulṭān-Ḥusain is proof positive that he privatized properties belonging to the state, with the intention of conveying them to *vaqf*.

The documents, both dated 901/1496, have been preserved in an early sixteenth-century Persian formulary (*shurūṭ*) or handbook of notary documents entitled *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya fī al-vaṣāʾiq al-sharʿiyya va al-sijillāt al-marʿiyya* ('Alī's compendium on legal documents and authoritative endorsements), which was compiled by the Hanafite jurist ʿAlī b. Muḥammad-ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Mukhtārī al-Khvārazmī al-Kubravī, who was active in Bukhara and Tashkent under the Uzbek ruler Muḥammad Shibanī Khan and his successors.[132] Such formularies

[130] Such lands may originally have been confiscated from their rightful owners after military conquests or dynastic changes.

[131] See Aghnides, *Islamic Theories of Finance*, 180–86 (for references to the juridical literature), 435–36.

[132] ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 14b–16b. The manuscript is undated, but judging from the marginal corrections, it appears to have been checked by the author himself—see Semenov et al., *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei* 8:313–17, no. 5872. ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī was also the author of a notable collection of legal opinions, or *responsa*, entitled *Fatāvā al-Shaibānī* (or *Shaibāniyya*)—see Semenov et al., *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei* 8:290ff. He moved to Tashkent around 930/1523 where he was attached to the court of Naurūz Aḥmad (Baraq Khan)—see Devin A. DeWeese, "The *Kashf al-Hudā* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Khorezmī: A Fifteenth-Century Sufi Commentary on the *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* in Khorezmian Turkic (Text Edition, Translation, and Historical Introduction)" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1985), 69–70. As his *nisba* indicates, he was connected to the Kubraviyya order. He is mentioned as a property owner in Nasaf in the *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim, where his name is preceded by such honorific titles as *ustād al-khavāqīn* and *muʿallim al-salāṭīn* (teacher of khans, instructor of sultans)—see Mukminova, *Kʿistorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 194. During Muḥammad Shibanī Khan's siege of Bukhara in 905/1499–1500, his father Muḥammad-ʿAlī Khvārazmī was sent as a delegate to surrender the city and request amnesty from the Uzbek khan—see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:276.

provided lawyers and notaries with templates for drawing up legal documents in a variety of situations, such as lease agreements, legal guardianships, and marriage contracts, as well as various types of endowments (*vaqf*).[133] Given the paucity of original documents from the Timurid period, the copies of these notary documents that have been preserved in *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya* are invaluable for our understanding of Timurid legal practices.[134]

The documents relating to the buy-back procedure are found in the first part of the formulary on "Documents and contracts" (*vaṣāʾiq va qabālāt*), in the subsection dealing with "Sales," under the heading "Document for the contract of sale (*vaṣīqa-i bayʿ*) of state land (*zamīn-i mamlaka-i pādshāhī*), which was drawn up by the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) of Khorasan."[135] They consist of a bill of sale and a bill of purchase. Although the legal procedure they represent was not precedent setting, the fact that the documents were regarded as models to be used by notaries in Shibanid Uzbek Transoxiana is an indication of the prestige of the Muslim judiciary of Timurid Khorasan, as well as of the continuity of Hanafite legal traditions. Their value consists in the fact that the individual involved in the transactions was the Timurid ruler of Khorasan, hence Sulṭān-Ḥusain's name was retained, as were the original dates of the documents and the purchase price paid. The only salient information ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī left out were the names of the other parties, which were substituted by the customary formula "so-and-so" (*fulān*), although their titles were largely left intact. This is an extremely valuable aspect of works of *fiqh* and *shurūṭ*, since they often preserve copies of documents that would otherwise have been lost to scholarship.[136]

[133] For the development and function of *shurūṭ* works in the Hanafite legal tradition, see Jeanette A. Wakin, ed., *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law: The Chapters on Sales from Ṭaḥāwī's Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), 12–29.

[134] The documents were first noted in passing by Ol'ga Chekhovich in an article on legal formularies and works of *fiqh* as sources for the study of the economic history of Central Asia—see O. D. Chekhovich, "Cherty èkonomicheskoi zhizni Maverannakhra v sochineniiakh po *fikkhu* i *shurutu*," in *Blizhnii i Srednii Vostok: Tovarno-denezhnye otnosheniia pri feodalizme*, ed. G. F. Girs and E. A. Davidovich (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), 227–28. For the role of works of *shurūṭ* in preserving transcriptions of original documents or citations from them, see also Powers, "Court Case," 229.

[135] For a translation of these documents, see app. 5.

[136] Another important document preserved in the section on *bayʿ* relates to the sale of lands belonging to the *vaqf* of the *khānaqāh* of Tūmān Agha in Samarqand, dated 887—see 'Alī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 20b–21b. Examples of documents

The first document, dated 5 Jumādā I 901/January 21, 1496, is a formal acknowledgement (*iqrār*) recording the sale of properties belonging to the state (*khāliṣa*) to a third party by an agent (*vakīl*) acting on behalf of Sulṭān-Ḥusain.[137] The names of the agent and the third party were omitted, but judging from his titles, the agent was a high-ranking religious official. The sale consisted of several large parcels of land and water shares in the Balkh region, including two-thirds of the villages of Palāspūsh, Naubahār, and Vazīrābād, which were watered by canals on the Hazhdah Nahr irrigation system, and two-thirds share in the water of the Palāspūsh canal, which branched off from the Balkh canal. The purchase price of the properties was 23,000 *kapakī dīnār*s. Significantly, assurances are provided that Sulṭān-Ḥusain had the legal right to sell these properties on the grounds that property belonging to the state was considered to be on a par with the public treasury (*ḥukm-i bait al-māl dārad*), which was under the jurisdiction of the ruling authority.[138] The second document, also a formal acknowledgement (*iqrār*), apparently written on the back of the first, was dated 22 Jumādā I 901/February 8, 1496, only seventeen days later. It records the repurchase of the same properties by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's agent from the same third party to which

preserved from earlier periods are the deeds of endowment of the Karakhanid ruler Tamghach Bughra Qara-Khan Ibrāhīm for a *madrasa* and hospital in Samarqand, which were included in Ibn Māja's *Muḥīṭ al-Burhānī fi al-fiqh al-Nu'mānī* (twelfth-century Bukhara) and in the anonymous seventeenth-century Indian collection *al-Fatāwā al-'Ālamgīriyya*. See Mohamed Khadr, "Deux actes de *waqf* d'un Qaraḫānide d'Asie centrale," *Journal asiatique* 255, nos. 3–4 (1967): 312–14; and O. G. Bol'shakov, "Dva vakfa Ibrakhima Tamgach-khana v Samarkande," *Strany i narody Vostoka*, vyp. 10 (1971): 170–78.

[137] For the term *iqrār*, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 26; Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 151; and Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1984), 60, 378.

[138] Statements to the same effect are also found in Central Asian documents from the Bukharan khanate, which often cite Hanafite juridical works, such as *al-Muḥīṭ* of Ibn Māja and *al-Fatāwā al-Tātārkhānī*, to support the ruler's right to sell lands belonging to the state. See, for example, O. D. Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Bukharskom khanstve*, vyp. 1, *Akty feodal'noi sobstvennosti na zemliu XVII–XIX vv.* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk UzSSR, 1954), 50, line 34: *ān 'ālīḥażratrā vilāyat-i bay'-i ān būd shar'an chūnkeh arż-i mamlaka ḥukm-i bait al-māl dāsht*; and O. D. Chekhovich, "K probleme zemel'noi sobstvennosti v feodal'noi Srednei Azii," *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1976, no. 11:37–39. In an *iqrār* dating from the seventeenth century, the statement reads, "His Majesty (i.e., the Uzbek khan 'Abd al-'Azīz) had the authority (*vilāyat*) to sell these properties, as stated in *al-Tatimma*, *al-Mughnī*, *al-Muḥīṭ*, and other [Hanafite juridical works]"—see *Iqrār* and *Vaqfiyya* of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan (Ashtarkhanid), MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 507.

they had been sold earlier, for the exact same sum of 23,000 *kapakī dīnār*s. This time, however, the properties are described as belonging to the category of private property (*ḥaqq-i khāliṣ va milk-i makhṣūṣ*).[139]

Although the purpose of the buy-back procedure is not explicitly stated in the documents, it may be assumed that it was in order to convey the newly privatized properties to *vaqf*. Several indications point to the fact that this was the case and even suggest that the endowments were intended for the 'Alid shrine at Balkh. To begin with, since Sulṭān-Ḥusain initiated endowment to the shrine and contributed to its development, there is a strong likelihood that he continued to add to its endowments in the years after its establishment. Secondly, the properties mentioned in the documents were all located in the vicinity of the shrine and constituted part of the Hazhdah Nahr irrigation system that he and members of the Timurid elite had redeveloped. Some of these properties are listed in an inventory of the shrine's endowments, made in the second half of the seventeenth century, and described as having belonged to the shrine "since ancient times."[140] Moreover, the practice of establishing endowments from privatized state properties is frequently mentioned in documents issued by Sulṭān-Ḥusain's chancery. For example, in a royal edict exempting the endowments of the congregational mosque of Ziyāratgāh, a village near Herat, from various taxes, there is an explicit statement to the effect that the endowments, which had been established by Sulṭān-Ḥusain, had been constituted from state lands that had been privatized:

> All of the aforementioned properties, which had belonged to the category of ancient state lands (*arāżī-i khāliṣāt-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*), the buying and selling of which, in accordance with the [divine] Order that must be obeyed, is definitely permitted by the Sharī'a, were privatized (*bi-ḥaita-i tamalluk dar āvurda*) from the public treasury (*bait al-māl*) by a valid and clearly designated agent (*bi-vikālat-i ṣaḥīḥ-i ṣarīḥ*) acting on behalf of His Royal Highness. After the conditions of the endowment had been drawn

[139] This phrase is not to be confused with *milk-i ḫurr-i khāliṣ*, a new form of tax-exempt private landholding in mid sixteenth-century Transoxiana—see O. D. Chekhovich, "Bukharskie pozemel'nye akty XVI–XIX vv.," *Problemy istochnikovedeniia* 4 (1955): 232ff.; and McChesney, *Waqf*, 16.

[140] See the decree issued in 1079/1668–69 by Subḥān Quli Khan, the Tuqay-Timurid ruler of Balkh, which specifically mentions the village of Naubahār, in McChesney, *Waqf*, 141; and Nūr Muḥammad, *Tārīkh*, 65. See also Salakhetdinova, "K istoricheskoi toponimike," 224.

up, and the legal deed of endowment (*vaqfiyya-i shar'iyya*) was certified, it was endorsed by the judiciary of Herat.[141]

Furthermore, the conveyance of state properties that had been privatized by means of the buy-back procedure outlined above was regularly practiced in post-Timurid Transoxiana.[142] An original notarized acknowledgement (*iqrār*) from seventeenth-century Bukhara, recording the sale and subsequent repurchase of state land (*mamlaka-i pādshāhī*) by an agent acting on behalf of the Tuqay-Timurid Uzbek ruler 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan, is followed by a deed (*vaqfiyya*) registering the conveyance of the privatized properties to the endowment of two *madrasas* built by the khan in Bukhara.[143] The wording of the *iqrār* closely follows that of the above-mentioned Timurid documents, and ends with the statement, "By means of this lawful transaction of purchase and sale (*mubāya'a*), these properties became the private property (*milk*) of His Majesty." The *iqrār* is followed directly by an endowment deed (*vaqfiyya*), which is even written on the same scroll, thereby indicating the close connection between the two transactions of privatization and conveyance to *vaqf*.[144]

It is interesting to note that this same buy-back procedure was described in the mid sixteenth century by the Egyptian Hanafite jurist Ibn al-Nujaim in a treatise in which he defended the legality of *auqāf* constituted from land purchased from the Mamluk public treasury (*bait al-māl*). As argued by Baber Johansen, Ibn al-Nujaim's *Tuhfat al-marḍiyya fī al-arāḍī al-Miṣriyya*, composed in 959/1552, was intended to counter the imminent promulgation of the Ottoman *qānūn-nāma* of 960/1553, which ended up converting most of the pious endowments in Mamluk Egypt back to state property.[145] The legal "solution" it provided to the longstanding problem of rulers and high military officials establishing

[141] See Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 169–72; and "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 121b–123b. The document is undated.

[142] See O. D. Chekhovich, "Novaia kollektsiia dokumentov po istorii Uzbekistana," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 36 (1951): 268.

[143] See *Iqrār* and *Vaqfiyya* of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khan; and Chekhovich, "K probleme zemel'noi sobstvennosti," 41.

[144] The *iqrār* is dated 1080/1670. Although the *vaqfiyya* is undated, the confirmatory ruling following it is dated 1081/1670–71.

[145] See Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 86–88.

pious endowments from state lands in Mamluk Egypt was, however, the very same as that outlined above for Timurid Khorasan.[146]

The documents relating to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's privatization of state land provide a fascinating insight into the complex body of rulings handed down by jurists in response to concrete issues connected with *vaqf* and landholding in Timurid Khorasan. By emphasizing procedural regularity, they demonstrate how the application of Hanafite law could be accommodated to changing socio-economic circumstances, thus providing further evidence in support of the dynamic nature of substantive law in Islam, in contrast to the rather static treatment of similar issues in theoretical works of jurisprudence.[147] Nevertheless, the scrupulous use of legal formulae in such documents, which emphasized the validity of the transaction of purchase and sale, did make them "potentially effective instruments for carrying out legal evasions," to cite Jeanette Wakin in her study on sales and the *shurūṭ* literature.[148]

An Agrarian Success Story

The foregoing discussion illustrates the ways in which acculturated Turko-Mongolian rulers utilized the full range of possibilities afforded by Muslim religious custom and Islamic law in order to respond to the exigencies of the agrarian economy in creative ways. Capitalizing on the charismatic appeal and legitimating function of the tomb shrines of major Muslim saints, the Timurids made them the focus of their architectural patronage and endowment activity. Through hydraulic construction and the restoration of old irrigation networks, rulers like Sulṭān-Ḥusain were able to expand the area under cultivation, and by paying attention to scientific techniques, such as those documented in the Timurid agricultural manual *Irshād al-zirā'a*, they raised agricultural standards and productivity in the chief agrarian oases of Khorasan to unprecedented heights.

What appears to be a uniquely Timurid contribution is the insistence on the application of financial accounting and auditing techniques in connection with the administration of Islamic pious endowments. These

[146] For a discussion of the practice in the Mamluk state, see Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity?" 103–4.

[147] Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 463–64.

[148] Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 31.

techniques, which had been introduced into the Timurid bureaucratic administration in the early fifteenth century, were replicated in the administration of pious endowments, especially in Khorasan where the intensive irrigated agriculture of the Herat region in particular demanded scrupulous record-keeping. Thanks to their staffs of accountants and agronomists, the large Timurid shrine complexes functioned as efficient vehicles for the management of the agricultural properties that belonged to their endowments. Because the Anṣārī shrine, located in the Timurid capital city of Herat, was the earliest focus of Timurid ideological attention and the main beneficiary of endowment activity, it became the model for other tomb shrine complexes that were developed by the Timurids in Khorasan, chiefly the ʿAlid shrines at Mashhad and Balkh.

The ʿAlid shrine at Balkh represents the most dramatic case in support of my contention that Timurid shrines were used as vehicles for agricultural management, as the "rediscovery" of the purported tomb of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the village of Khvāja Khairān became the pretext for a massive agricultural development project that involved the reconstruction of a number of key canals on the Hazhdah Nahr irrigation network of Balkh, and for the privatization of state land and water shares in the Balkh region by Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself, ostensibly for the purpose of conveying them to *vaqf* for the shrine. In view of the Timurids' nomadic tribal origins, connection to the Chaghatayid *keshik*, and attachment to the Timuro-Chinggisid *törä*, the metamorphosis of Sulṭān-Ḥusain from *qazaq* to farmer is nothing short of remarkable. Already in the early sixteenth century, not long after the fall of the Timurid dynasty, the period of his rule was looked upon as a golden age of agricultural and horticultural achievement in the history of medieval Iran.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to demonstrate the transition that the Timurid rulers of Iran and Central Asia were obliged to make from the nomadic empire that had been established by the eponymous founder of their dynasty, the charismatic warlord Temür, to a sedentary polity based on the Perso-Islamic model. Max Weber's concept of the "routinization" of charismatic authority has provided an apt paradigm for understanding the case of the Timurids, for once the limits of the booty economy were reached, Temür's descendants were faced with the necessity of reorienting the economic bases of their state in the direction of agrarian production, and reorganizing administrative structures along traditional Perso-Islamic bureaucratic lines. In short, it was not ideological factors, but economic ones that served as the chief impetus for the "routinization" of the Timurid empire.

The transition was by no means an easy one for the Timurids to make, since Timurid custom (*törä*), which derived from the *yasa* of Chinggis Khan, dictated the maintenance of a nomadic military culture that was fundamentally opposed to the values of sedentary society and its chief economic activity, agriculture. Moreover, contrary to the received wisdom concerning his origins, Temür was a member of one of the great ruling families of the Mongol empire, since his Barlas ancestor Qarachar Noyon had been head of Chaghatay Khan's imperial household guard (*keshik*), and chief judge (*yarghuchi*) of the Ulus Chaghatay, where the *yasa* had been enforced with legendary severity. Thus, even though they were Muslims, Temür and his immediate descendants, who still held the hereditary region (*tümän*) of Kesh in Transoxiana, were obliged to uphold Chinggisid traditions, and their loyalty to Chaghatay's household dictated that they would maintain the superiority of the Turko-Mongolian elite over the sedentary, predominantly Iranian, Muslim population of Iran and Central Asia over which they ruled.

Derived from Chaghatay's imperial guard corps, the Timurid patrimonial household constituted the nucleus of the polity established by Temür and his descendants. Here again, Weber's concept of the patrimonial household, which has been applied convincingly to the Mongol dynasty of the Yüan and to such medieval Islamic states as the Mughal

empire, has proved to be useful in characterizing the Timurid polity as a patrimonial-bureaucratic regime, in which the household establishment, headed by the ruler and consisting of his personal guard corps and military elite, was supplemented by a bureaucratic administration based on the traditional Persian model.

The reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, which spanned almost four decades toward the end of the period of Timurid rule in Khorasan, has been interpreted in this study as representing the culmination of the process of transition that began in the first part of the fifteenth century under Temür's successor, Shāhrukh, who refocused the empire from Central Asia (Transoxiana) to Iran (Khorasan) by relocating the Timurid capital from Samarqand to Herat. Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign demonstrates in many ways the full impact of the introduction of Persian modes of bureaucratic administration on the evolution of Timurid government, and it provides a vivid illustration of the complex dynamic between two competing forces in play during the process of transition: the Turko-Mongolian military and household elites, with their tendency toward political and fiscal decentralization, and the Persian bureaucrats and members of the religious intelligentsia, with their traditional impulse to centralize.

The poignant career of the Persian bureaucrat Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī, the son of Shāhrukh's powerful *vazīr* Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Pīr-Aḥmad, exemplifies how difficult it was to introduce the principle of rational bureaucratic organization into a patrimonial regime based on Turko-Mongolian custom and notions of loyalty and personal service to the head of the household establishment. Majd al-Dīn's attempts to implement sweeping fiscal and bureaucratic reforms that aimed at centralizing the Timurid polity met with the concerted opposition of members of the Turko-Mongolian elites, who interpreted them as a challenge to their traditional prerogatives and standing in the household establishment. But even though sanctioned by Islamic legality and supported by a prestigious Persian literary tradition of advice on governance, Majd al-Dīn's centralizing policies could not prevail over the entrenched Timurid elites on whom Sulṭān-Ḥusain was militarily dependent and to whom he was personally beholden, in some cases still from his days of political vagabondage, or *qazaqliq*.

Most telling is the fact that, in connection with his ouster, Majd al-Dīn was brought for questioning before the *yarghu* court of investigation, whose predetermined outcome appears to have been less important than the symbolic value of summoning this venerable Chinggisid institution

to the defense of Timurid custom. Predominantly of Turko-Mongolian background, the military and household elites resented the intrusion of this ethnic Iranian, whom Sulṭān-Ḥusain had made a trusted "insider" in his household establishment on the basis of his professional competence, which included supplying Sulṭān-Ḥusain with badly-needed funds at critical junctures. Even Majd al-Dīn's erstwhile supporter, Mīr ʿAlīshīr Uighur, a fellow member of the Timurid household establishment, turned against him, thereby demonstrating where his true loyalties and personal interests lay. Had he been present, the Timurids' tribal ancestor Qarachar Noyon, who had been the chief judge in Chaghatay Khan's appanage, would undoubtedly have approved of the conduct of the proceedings against this presumptuous "Tajik" *vazīr*.

The failure to implement meaningful bureaucratic reforms that would have centralized the Timurid fiscal administration meant that the larger problems connected with landholding and taxation, such as the widespread distribution of *soyurghal* grants with tax immunity, remained unresolved, resulting in revenue shortfalls in the central treasury. To increase taxation revenues and stabilize their regime, the Timurids heeded the message of the mirrors for princes that were composed for their benefit, and they turned their attention to the agrarian economy. The restoration and construction of irrigation networks in a number of key agricultural regions in the large eastern Iranian province of Khorasan resulted in the expansion of the area under cultivation, particularly in the Timurid capital region of Herat. The construction of the Jūy-i Sulṭānī canal by Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd in the vicinity of the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh opened up the entire area north of Herat to agricultural development. Under the aegis of Sulṭān-Ḥusain and his agronomists, the agricultural intensification of the Harirud valley reached a level that was unprecedented in the post-Mongol period.

Despite spending a long period of political vagabondage before coming to power in Herat, Sulṭān-Ḥusain evinced as keen an interest in scientific agriculture and gardening as he did in Persianate literary and artistic culture. By making efficient use of the Islamic pious endowment, or *vaqf*, he maximized revenues from the agricultural properties belonging to the many charitable foundations that were patronized by the Timurids and their elites in Khorasan. He did so by applying financial management techniques that had been introduced into the bureaucratic administration of the state under Shāhrukh to the administration of endowments, especially those belonging to the popular Muslim tomb shrines that were objects of veneration and pilgrimage.

It is no coincidence that the most important tomb shrines patronized by the Timurids in Khorasan—those of ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī, Imām Riżā, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—were strategically located in the key agrarian oases of Herat, Mashhad, and Balkh, respectively. Developed by the Timurids into large shrine complexes, they became vehicles for the expansion and management of agricultural activity. The emphasis on financial accounting, bookkeeping, and auditing techniques, which resulted in greater efficiencies, appears to have been a characteristic feature of the administration of endowments in late Timurid Khorasan. It was the ability to combine the efficiency of professional management with the religious sanction of the Muslim shrine that made Timurid Khorasan such a success story in the history of medieval Persian agriculture.

The ʿAlid shrine at Balkh provides the most compelling instance of the use of a popular Muslim tomb shrine as a vehicle for agricultural development and agromanagement. "Rediscovered" during Sulṭān-Ḥusain's reign, the purported tomb of ʿAlī, the charismatic cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the first Shiʿite *imām*, served as the pretext for a large development project initiated by Sulṭān-Ḥusain himself, with the active participation of his brother Bayqara, governor of Balkh, and members of the Timurid military elite and religious intelligentsia of Herat. As in the case of the aforementioned Jūy-i Sulṭānī canal, the re/construction of the Nahr-i Shāhī canal in the vicinity of the ʿAlid tomb site was the prerequisite for the agricultural development of the Balkh region, which included the reconstruction of other canals on the Hazhdah Nahr irrigation system. Thanks to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's patronage, the ʿAlid tomb shrine soon became a large complex that subsequently evolved into the shrine town of Mazar-i Sharif. The administration of the new shrine was entrusted to functionaries from Herat, who were transferred there from the administration of the Anṣārī shrine at Gāzurgāh. With its staff of accountants, agronomists, and hydrologists, epitomized by the management accountant Qāsim b. Yūsuf Abū Naṣrī, author of the agricultural and hydrological manuals *Irshād al-zirāʿa* and *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qulb*, the Anṣārī shrine functioned as a training ground for professional administrators, and it would have been the obvious source of personnel to man the new Balkh shrine project.

The Timurids thus turned their patronage of the popular Muslim cult of saints and the practice of pilgrimage to tomb shrines into a means of transforming the shrine complex into a vehicle for organizing

and managing the agriculture of Khorasan. The emphasis on financial management techniques in the administration of pious endowments constituted the basis of the Timurids' success in developing the agrarian economy of Khorasan. In the process, they not only reaped the perceived moral and political benefits that accrued from patronage of ideologically significant shrines, but they were also able to counteract, at least partially, the negative effects of the decentralization of the Timurid fisc as a result of the erosion of revenues to the central treasury. But although the use of the pious endowment as a vehicle for agromanagement increased agricultural productivity and overall prosperity in the short term, it did not solve the fundamental problems plaguing the Timurid state. On the contrary, in the long run, the expansion of *vaqf* holdings only served to exacerbate those very problems.

This study set out to answer a number of questions concerning the transition of the Timurids from a nomadic empire to a sedentary state. While they adopted certain aspects of the Perso-Islamic model, making use of administrative procedures and Islamic institutions, and even promoting the agrarian economy, the Timurids were ultimately unsuccessful in effecting the kind of political transformation that accords with the Weberian paradigm of the "routinization" of charisma in the direction of a rationalized bureaucratic state. The chief impediment was Turko-Mongolian custom, which, as I have sought to demonstrate, was too closely associated with Timurid origins and "Chaghatay" identity to be discarded entirely in favour of Islamic law and Persian tradition. At best, the Timurid polity remained a patrimonial-bureaucratic regime that was more patrimonial than bureaucratic, but that made efficient use of certain bureaucratic measures in order to maintain its patrimonial structure and ethic.

Even though they became highly acculturated, the Timurids never abandoned their Turko-Mongolian traditions. At the same time that they patronized Persianate literature and the arts, they contributed to the development of the Chaghatay Turkish literary language, the court of Sulṭān-Ḥusain being instrumental in fostering what is regarded as the classical period of Chaghatay literature, thanks in large part to the works of the same Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī Uighur who was an "insider" in Sulṭān-Ḥusain's household establishment. Timurid culture was thus a hybrid of Turko-Mongolian and Perso-Islamic elements, and as such it represented the most sophisticated product of the symbiotic relationship that existed between Turko-Mongolian and Iranian peoples in the eastern Islamic world (see fig. 8).

But acculturation eventually took its toll on the Timurid military ethos. Never having experienced periods of political vagabondage like their predecessors Temür, Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd, and Sulṭān-Ḥusain, the Timurid *mīrzā*s, or princes, began behaving like the pampered offspring of well-to-do parents. Babur, who visited Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sons Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar-Ḥusain in Herat shortly before the fall of the dynasty, observed that "they were good at conversation, arranging parties, and in social matters, but they were strangers to soldiering (*sipāhīliq*), strategy, equipment, bold fight, and military encounter."[1] What was more disturbing from Babur's perspective, was that the army had followed suit and lost its fighting spirit. "It was the case with [Sulṭān-Ḥusain's] sons and all his troops and townspeople," he wrote, "that they indulged excessively in degenerate pleasures."[2] By the early sixteenth century, Temür's descendants evidently proved the truth of the Old Turkic proverb, which warned that the Turk's flesh would begin to rot if he adopted the sedentary lifestyle of the Tajik.

Predictably, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's sons, who had become co-regents after their father's death in 1506, were unprepared to face the challenge presented by the latest wave of nomadic conquerors from the Qipchaq steppe, who in 1507 invaded Khorasan via Transoxiana and took Herat, thereby ending Timurid hegemony in Iran. Thus, almost a century after the death of the charismatic "Lord of the auspicious conjunction," the Timurids were superseded by a dynamic nomadic polity of Chinggisid provenance, that of the Shibanid Uzbeks, who brought an end to the Timurid achievement, only to start the inexorable process of transition all over again.

[1] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 187b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 300.
[2] Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 164b; and Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, 259.

APPENDIX ONE

SURVEY OF ENDOWMENT DEEDS FROM THE TIMURID PERIOD

Khorasan

1. Vaqfiyya *of the Sufi shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī for a complex at Darvīshābād*

This document, which pertains to the Herat region, appears to be either a copy or a summary of the charter deed of endowment dated 812/1409–10, which was made by the donor himself in 830/1426–27.[1] Since it is entirely in Arabic, it may be assumed that the charter deed of endowment was also in Arabic, a departure from the more customary use of Persian for such documents during this period. The donor was the prominent Sufi shaikh of Shāhrukh's time and founder of the Zainiyya order, Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī or simply Zain al-Khvāfī (d. 838/1435).[2] He established his endowment for the benefit of the community of Sufis who followed the teachings of his own teacher, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī al-Shabrīsī al-Miṣrī, and who lived primarily in the village of Darvīshābād near Herat.[3] The revenues from

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Note: The following lists supplement the information on Timurid endowments in Iran and Central Asia provided in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.vv. "Waḳf, iii. In Persia" (by Ann K. S. Lambton), "Waḳf, v. In Central Asia" (by R. D. McChesney).

[1] MS, Islamabad, Ganjbakhsh Library, uncatalogued. Published in Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq, "Fāżil," "Vaqfnāma-i Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khvāfī," *Mishkāt* (Mashhad) 22 (Spring 1368/1989): 187–200. Because the editor did not describe the document in any detail, it is difficult to determine whether this is an actual deed of endowment, a copy of the original deed of endowment, a codicil to a deed of endowment, or simply a summary of the original deed made by the donor himself. However, the donor, who writes in the first person, refers to it as a document (*al-kitāb*), and states that a detailed description of the endowments predated "these scrolls" (*al-ṭawāmīr*) by several years.

[2] For him see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:12–13; Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, 88; and Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh, *Maqṣad al-iqbāl*, ed. Haravī, 80–81. See also Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 219–20.

[3] Hans Joachim Kissling, "Einiges über den Zejnije-Orden im Osmanischen Reiche," *Der Islam* 39 (1964): 149–50.

the endowment were also designated for the support of Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī's sons, daughters, and wife, as well as for the maintenance of several buildings he constructed, among which were a *khānaqāh* and *ribāṭ* in the village of Burābād in the *vilāyat* of Khvāf,[4] a *ribāṭ* in Bākharz, and a mausoleum (*junbadhā*),[5] water fountain, and latrines (sic) in the village of Ziyāratgāh in the Herat region.

This was a mixed *vaqf*, part charitable endowment, since it was designated to maintain hospices for his Sufi disciples, and part family endowment, since the donor not only designated himself as the trustee (*mutavallī*) of the charitable endowment for the duration of his lifetime, and his sons after his death, but also named his wife and children as the beneficiaries. Again the presence of a mausoleum is to be noted, which may have been intended as the burial place of the donor. The trustee's salary was to be 10 per cent of the income from the endowment, and the stipend of the financial overseer (*mushrif*) was to be 5 per cent.[6]

The endowed properties consisted of several agricultural estates in the Herat region (particularly in Khvāf); the village of Darvīshābād located just outside the city of Herat, which must have been founded by Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī himself, and which appears to have been an agricultural community; *qanāt*s and shares in *qanāt*s (especially in the vicinity of Darvīshābād); and vineyards.[7] Also located on the endowed properties were a meeting house (*bait al-jamāʿa*), library (*bait al-kutub*), meditation cells (*khalavāt*), *madrasa*, and mosque, as well as mills, etc.

In view of the donor's prominence in the religious life of early Timurid Herat, the study and analysis of the *vaqfiyya* of the endowed complex he established in Herat is important in illuminating not only the evolution of Timurid endowments, but also the history of pre-Naqshbandī Sufi communities in Khorasan. It may be compared with the *vaqfiyya* of the shrine complex of the Kubravī shaikh Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī in Bukhara, established during the first quarter of the fourteenth century,[8] as well as with the Kubravī shrine complex of Shaikh

[4] For Burābād, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:76.

[5] An Arabized form of Persian *gunbad/gunbaḏ*.

[6] See Yazdī Muṭlaq, "Vaqfnāma," 198–99.

[7] The village of Darvīshābād is not mentioned in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's historical geography, but it is clear from the description of its location that it was just outside Herat. For another reference to it in connection with Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī, see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:12.

[8] For a description of which see pp. 240–41 below.

Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Khvārazmī in Samarqand, established during the first half of the sixteenth century.[9]

2. Vaqfiyya *of Gauharshād Begim, wife of Shāhrukh, for the* masjid-i jāmiʿ *at the ʿAlid shrine at Mashhad*

This is a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century copy of the charter deed of endowment, which dates back to 829/1426.[10] The beneficiary of the endowment was the congregational mosque (*masjid-i jāmiʿ*) constructed by Gauharshād at the shrine of Imām Riżā in Mashhad in 819–21/1416–18.[11] The majority of endowed properties consisted of agricultural lands, subterranean irrigation canals, and a dam, which were located in the Mashhad region, but there were also many commercial properties, especially shops, most of which were located in the immediate vicinity of the mosque. Since Gauharshād Begim designated herself and her descendants as trustees, this too appears to have been a mixed endowment, both charitable and of the family type. However, a certain Maulānā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Ḥamīd al-ʿAlavī and his descendants are also named as trustees alongside Gauharshād and her descendants, so it may be that she and her descendants were nominal trustees and that Maulānā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was a professional administrator whom she appointed to act on her behalf, although his position was to be inherited by his descendants.[12] The trustee was to receive 10 per cent of the income from the endowment, and the administrators of the *vaqf* were also to receive 10 per cent. But since the copy of the deed is such a late one, many errors, omissions, and perhaps even fabrications, may have

[9] *Vaqfiyya* of the *khānaqāh* of Ḥusain al-Khvārazmī in Samarqand, MS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I–323, no. 1412. The copy, which is in the form of a book, is dated 1287/1870–71. For a description, see [Miradylov], *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Uzbekskoi SSR, Fond I–323*, opis' 1, kn. 2, no. 1412. The charter deed of endowment dates from Dhū al-Qaʿda 953/December 1546–January 1547.

[10] MS, Mashhad, Idāra-i kull-i auqāf va umūr-i khairiyya-i Ustān-i Khurāsān, nāhiya 2 Mashhad, kilāsa G–1. The copy is not dated, but the date 1324/1906 appears in the margin under one of the confirmatory signatures. Published in ʿUṭāridī, *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds* 2:743–56; and in an abridged version (based on an earlier copy) in Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanīʿ al-Daula (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana), *Maṭlaʿ al-shams: Tārīkh-i arż-i aqdas va Mashhad-i muqaddas*, 2 vols. (1301–3/1884–86; repr. ed., Tehran, 1362–63/1983–84), 2:441–45.

[11] See Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:328–31.

[12] See ʿUṭāridī, *Tārīkh-i Āstān-i Quds* 2:752.

found their way into the text, so extreme caution must be exercised in utilizing the data it contains.

3. Vaqfiyya *of Parīzād Khanim for a* madrasa *in Mashhad*

Like the *vaqfiyya* of Gauharshād Begim, this is a very late, twentieth-century copy of the charter deed of endowment that dates back to 823/1420.[13] The donor was a certain Parīzād Khanim, who is identified as being related (*mansūba*) to Gauharshād, and as a descendant of Khvāja Rabīʿ al-Dīn b. Khuthyam, a seventh-century partisan of the Prophet Muḥammad and of ʿAlī.[14]

The endowment was established by Parīzād Khanim for her *madrasa*, still known as the Parīzād *madrasa*, which was adjacent to the *masjid-i jāmiʿ* of Gauharshād Begim at the shrine of Imām Riżā in Mashhad, and also for the tomb shrine (*mazār*) of her ancestor Khvāja Rabīʿ, which was located in the Tabādagān district of the Mashhad region.[15] The endowed properties included commercial shops located adjacent to the *madrasa*, and many agricultural properties with their irrigation water, mills, etc., in the Mashhad region. The donor designated her husband, Sayyid Mīrzā Muḥammad Mīrak al-Ḥusainī, who was an administrator (*khādim-i sarkār*) at the shrine of Imām Riżā in Mashhad, as well as trustee of the tomb shrine of Khvāja Rabīʿ, as the trustee of the endowment, and after him her male children.

4. Vaqfiyya *of Amīr Chaqmaq and his wife Bibi Fāṭima for a* masjid-i jāmiʿ *complex in Yazd*

This endowment deed does not strictly speaking belong to Khorasan but rather to central Iran. Brief mention of it is included here, however, because it pertains to the Timurid period and because it is readily available in a published edition.[16] The endowment, which was a mixed *vaqf*, was established in Rabīʿ I 849/June 1445 by Amīr Chaqmaq, the Timurid governor of Yazd, and his wife Bibi Fāṭima, for the benefit of a congregational mosque (*masjid-i jāmiʿ*) and *khānaqāh* complex, which they constructed in Yazd.[17] Characteristically, Bibi Fāṭima's endowments included her own mausoleum, which was housed in the *khānaqāh*.[18] A noteworthy feature of the endowed complex was the expansion of the Khairābād canal in order to provision the region with an adequate water supply.[19] The endowed properties consisted of both commercial and agricultural properties and irrigation canals and water rights. In many cases, the individuals from whom the properties were purchased before conveyance to *vaqf* are mentioned. The trustee of the endowed foundation was to be the couple's son.

5. Vaqfiyya *of Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī for the Ikhlāṣiyya complex in Herat*

This is not a legal deed of endowment but a summary (*mujmal*) in Chaghatay Turkish, composed by ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī himself in 886/1481–82, of a number of Persian deeds of endowment relating to an architectural complex he constructed in Herat, known as Ikhlāṣiyya, that consisted of a *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* ensemble, a mosque, hospital, and personal residence, as well as mausolea located in both the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh*.[20]

[13] MS, Mashhad, Idāra-i kull-i auqāf va umūr-i khairiyya-i Ustān-i Khurāsān, nāhiya 1 Mashhad, kilāsa P–2. The copy is dated 1314/1935. I did not have access to the original, only to a transcription of it in Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq, "Fāżil," *Taḥqīq pīrāmūn-i vaqfnāmahā-yi maujūd dar Idāra-i kull-i auqāf-i Ustān-i Khurāsān va mauqūfāt-i marbūṭ bi-ānhā*, 8 vols., TS (Mashhad, 1373/1994), vol. 1. To the best of my knowledge, it has never been published.

[14] She claimed to be fourteen generations removed from Khvāja Rabīʿ.

[15] For the *madrasa*, see O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 133–35. For the shrine of Khvāja Rabīʿ, located in the Khvāja Rabīʿ district in the northern part of Mashhad, see Kāẓim Mudīr Shānachī, *Maẓārāt-i Khurāsān* (Mashhad, 1345/1966), 3ff.; and Muḥammad-Ḥusain Pāpulī-Yazdī, *Farhang-i ābādīhā va makānhā-yi mazhabī-i kishvar* (Mashhad, 1367/1989), 228.

[16] For an edition of the document, see Muḥammad Mustaufī Bāfqī Mufīd, *Jāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īraj Afshār, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1340/1961), 3:871–84; and Īraj Afshār, *Yādgārhā-yi Yazd: Muʿarrifī-i abniya-i tārīkhī va āṣār-i bāstānī-i shahr-i Yazd*, vol. 2 in 2 pts. (Tehran, 1354/1975), 2:162–83. For an English summary of the contents, see Iwatake, "Waqf of a Timurid Amir," 91–98.

[17] For Amīr Chaqmaq, see Iwatake, "Waqf of a Timurid Amir," 87–89. For the complex, which was begun ca. 830/1426–27, see Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Jaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1343/1965), 64; Holod-Tretiak, "Monuments of Yazd," 98ff., 115ff.; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:421–24; and Iwatake, "Waqf of a Timurid Amir," 91.

[18] See Iwatake, "Waqf of a Timurid Amir," 98.

[19] Jaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, 180.

[20] For a discussion of the *Vaqfiyya*, see chap. 5, pp. 167–71 above. For a facsimile edition, see Subtelny, "*Vaqfiya* of Mīr ʿAlī Šīr," 272–86.

6. Vaqfiyya *of Afaq Begim, wife of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, for her mausoleum in the Royal* madrasa *in Herat*

Dated 912/1506, this the only original deed of endowment known to have survived from the period of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's rule in Herat. The donor was Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara's wife Afaq Begim, and the beneficiary of the endowment was her mausoleum, which was located in the Royal *madrasa* complex built by her husband in Herat.[21]

Transoxiana

1. Vaqf-nāma *of Shaikh Yaḥyā for the tomb shrine of the Sufi shaikh Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī in Bukhara*

This *vaqf-nāma*, which dates from 726/1326, does not belong strictly speaking to the Timurid period.[22] It is included here, however, because of its association with Herat and because it established the pattern in Central Asia of endowing large shrine complexes associated with important Sufi or religious figures. As noted by Robert McChesney, such well-endowed shrine complexes, which came under the control of administrative families, became a recurrent feature of the socio-economic history of medieval Islamic Central Asia.[23]

The endowment was established by Shaikh Yaḥyā for the tomb and *khānaqāh* of his grandfather, the Kubravī shaikh of the Ilkhanid period Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī, in the Bukharan suburb of Fatḥābād.[24] Besides the charter deed of endowment from 1326, other documents pertaining to the complex, dating from as late as the nineteenth century, make

[21] For a discussion of Afaq Begim's *vaqfiyya*, including the biography of the donor, see chap. 5, pp. 171–89 above. For a detailed description of the document, annotated translation, and facsimile edition, see app. 2.

[22] Published in a facsimile edition, with Russian translation, and commentary, in Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 33–189. There are several copies of this document in the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan (fond I–323, nos. 1183, 1196) and in the Ibn Sino Library in Bukhara (no. 195).

[23] See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Waḳf, v. In Central Asia" (by R. D. McChesney), 92.

[24] For Saif al-Dīn Bākharzī, see DeWeese, "The *Kashf al-Hudā*," 25ff.; and Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 7–9. For a description of the complex, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:255ff.

it possible to trace its development over a long period of time.[25] The endowed properties consisted of a very large number of agricultural properties in the eastern suburbs of Bukhara, such as villages (including the village of Fatḥābād), irrigated lands, and garden-orchards, but no commercial properties. It is interesting to note that among the "endowments" to the complex were slaves (*ghulām*), whom the donor manumitted and who were supposed to be engaged in the administration and supervision of agricultural activity on the lands belonging to the endowment.[26]

Although the donor named himself and his male descendants as trustees, in the interim he appointed two Sufi shaikhs from the *khānaqāh* as trustees, and he stipulated that the trustee should always be a member of the Sufi community, and not a worldly individual who strove to acquire wealth and power.[27] Unlike the large shrine complexes of the later Timurids, which were run by professional financial managers and accountants, the Bākharzī foundation was administered in a more "in house" fashion, its managers being drawn from a Sufi community that was committed to a common ideological rather than fiscal or bureaucratic cause.

The Bākharzī *khānaqāh* foundation outside Bukhara, which was associated with the Kubraviyya order, resembled in many respects the Sufi communal complex established outside Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century by the Suhravardī shaikh Zain al-Dīn Khvāfī, as well as the later Kubravī *khānaqāh* foundation of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain Khvārazmī in Samarqand in the first half of the sixteenth century.[28] All three appear to have had as their goal the preservation and perpetuation of a small Sufi community that was ideologically closely tied to its founder, and their deeds of endowment, which reveal many interesting details about the organization of Sufi communal life, merit closer analysis and comparative study.

[25] For these documents, see Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 190ff.

[26] Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 184.

[27] Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 172, 175–76.

[28] For which see pp. 236–37 above. It is noteworthy that the deeds of endowment of all three foundations have been preserved, and that they are all dated roughly a century apart.

2. Vaqfiyya *of Temür for the tomb shrine of Khvāja Aḥmad Yasavī in Turkestan*

Dated to ca. 780/1378–79, this *vaqfiyya* was long believed to be Temür's charter deed of endowment for the tomb shrine of the twelfth-century Sufi saint of Central Asia Khvāja Aḥmad Yasavī, which Temür constructed and endowed in the town of Yasi, present-day Turkestan, in southwestern Kazakhstan.[29] Its authenticity was questioned by several scholars, most notably Ol'ga Chekhovich who definitively established it as a late forgery.[30] The aim of the forged document appears to have been to promote the hereditary rights of a particular Yasavī descent group to manage the shrine's endowments in the nineteenth century.[31] It may be compared in this regard to another *vaqfiyya* purportedly connected with the name of Temür—that for the Safavid tomb shrine at Ardabil—which Heribert Horst proved was a sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Safavid forgery.[32] The document is mentioned here only because it has frequently been referred to as an authentic document in the scholarly literature.[33]

[29] MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 10.

[30] See O. D. Chekhovich, "Sobranie vostochnykh aktov Akademii nauk Uzbekistana," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 26 (1948): 309; O. D. Chekhovich, "Vakufnyi dokument vremeni Tīmūra iz kollektsii Samarkandskogo muzeia," *Èpigrafika Vostoka* 4 (1951): 57 n. 1; O. D. Chekhovich, "Zadachi sredneaziatskoi diplomatiki," *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1969, no. 6:78; and O. D. Chekhovich, "Obzor arkheografii Srednei Azii," in *Srednevekovyi Vostok: Istoriia, kul'tura, istochnikovedenie*, ed. G. F. Girs et al. (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), 269. See also Wl. Gordlevsky, "Choğa Aḥmed Jasevi," in *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, 26. Mai 1932, gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Theodor Menzel (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1932), 60.

[31] See DeWeese, "Politics of Sacred Lineages," 508–9 where he discusses the history of the study of the document and provides additional arguments to support its inauthenticity.

[32] Contained in the compendium *Ṣukūk va sijillāt-i Tīmūrī*, MS, Mashhad, Kitābkhāna-i Āstana-i Quds-i Riżavī, 4141. For a facsmile edition of the manuscript and discussion of the forgery, see Heribert Horst, *Tīmūr und Ḫōğā 'Alī: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ṣafawiden* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), 5ff.

[33] See John E. Woods, "Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (1984): 331.

3. Vaqfiyya *of Sarāy-Malik Agha for the tomb shrine of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr in Bukhara*

This late, undated copy of a deed of endowment represents an addition to an existing endowment that may have originally been established by Temür, who is praised in it as a patron and benefactor of religious scholars and Sufis, in Ramaḍān 783/November 1381.[34] The donor was Temür's great-granddaughter Sarāy-Malik Agha, the daughter of Khalīl Sulṭān.[35] The date of her addition to the endowment is not known, but it may be dated to shortly before 814/1411, and the death of her father, who is mentioned in the document as still being alive at the time.[36]

The endowment was for the tomb shrine of the early Hanafite theologian Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, known as Khvāja Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr (d. 217/813), and a *khānaqāh*, which were located in the northern part of Bukhara in what was known as the burial mound of Tall-i Khvāja, a popular place of local pilgrimage.[37] The endowed properties consisted of a large number of agricultural lands to the north of Bukhara, as well as lands that were known collectively as Bāgh-i 'Alī Ushturbān. The donor appointed a descendant of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr, Maulānā Rukn al-Dīn-i Abū Ḥafṣ, as trustee of the endowment, and this post was to be inherited by his descendants.

[34] MS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I–323, no. 1096. The date of the copy is unknown. For a description, see [Miradylov], *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Uzbekskoi SSR, Fond I–323*, opis' 1, kn. 1, no. 1096 (where the donor's name is given incorrectly as Tīmūr, i.e., Temür, and the date as that of the ruling on a lawsuit). Unpublished.

[35] For her, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 34, no. 3.2.d. Her honorific title is given in the document as "Khānzāda." She is not to be confused with Timur's wife Sarāy-Malik Khanim.

[36] Sarāy-Malik Agha must have been about fifteen (lunar) years old at the time of the establishment of her endowment, since her father (who was born in 786/1384) was twenty-eight at the time of his death, and he had married his first wife at the age of thirteen. It is somewhat problematic that Temür is mentioned as being still alive at the time, although this may be explained by the fact that the part of the charter deed of endowment that contained his name was simply incorporated into the addition, without any change.

[37] For Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr, see Narshakhī, *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, 77–80; and Ibn Abī al-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* (Hyderabad, 1332/1914), 67. For this cemetery, see Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Mu'īn al-fuqarā', *Tārīkh-i Mullāzāda dar zikr-i mazārāt-i Bukhārā*, ed. Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma'ānī (Tehran, 1339/1960), 18–19.

Appended to the deed of endowment is a court ruling on a claim that had been brought against the endowment by an individual named Muḥammad Raḥīm-oghlan b. Aḥmad-oghlan. The ruling, which is dated Dhū al-Qaʿda 924/November 1518, was made in favour of the endowment, and it confirmed the endowed status of the property in question, which is referred to as an ancient endowment (*vaqf-i qadīm*). At that time, almost a hundred years after the establishment of the Timurid endowment, the trusteeship still appears to have been held by a descendant of Khvāja Abū Ḥafṣ-i Kabīr.[38]

4. Vaqfiyya *of ʿAbd al-Malik Marghīnānī for a tomb shrine in the Samarqand region*

The document, which is partially defective, dates from ca. 785/1383 and is considered to be the oldest original deed of endowment from Central Asia.[39] The founder, whose name has always been thought to be missing from the document, was in fact Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Malik, a prominent religious figure of Temür's time, and scion of the famous Transoxanian "theological dynasty" of the Marghīnānīs of Samarqand, which went back to the twelfth-century Hanafite theologian Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī, author of the fundamental juridical work *al-Hidāya*.[40]

[38] His name was Khvāja Mīr Muḥammad b. Khvāja Mīr Najm al-Dīn-i Abī Ḥafṣ.

[39] For a partial facsimile edition of the document, with a Russian translation, see Chekhovich, "Vakufnyi dokument vremeni Tīmūra," 55–67. See also O. D. Chekhovich, "Iz dokumenta XIV veka ob okrestnostiakh Samarkanda i ikh oroshenii," *Doklady Akademii nauk UzSSR*, 1948, no. 6:38–42. The document, which I have not consulted, is in the Samarkand Historical Museum (no. 1087).

[40] In her translation of the crucial section of the deed of endowment, which begins *vaqf kard va taṣadduq namūd*, Chekhovich read an *iżāfa* between the prepositional phrase, *dar majlis-i rafiʿ*, and the name following it, thereby interpreting the individual to be the judicial authority in whose presence the deed was notarized, rather than the donor himself—see Chekhovich, "Vakufnyi dokument vremeni Tīmūra," 57, line 3 (Persian text) and 60, line 3 (Russian trans.). In my opinion, however, her interpretation is incorrect for several reasons: first, the sentence, as she interpreted it, would be left without a subject; second, in *vaqf* documents, the name of the donor frequently follows the above-mentioned phrase, as it does in the present document; third, ʿAbd al-Malik's name is not only preceded by a long list of honorific titles and epithets, but his genealogy is also provided, which would not have been the case if the individual in question were simply the presiding judge. The prepositional phrase *dar majlis-i rafiʿ* should therefore be taken as standing on its own, and the sentence translated as, "ʿAbd al-Malik established an endowment and created a bequest before an august [court] assembly." For the title *shaikh al-Islām*, which was most probably simply the hereditary honorific title of the Marghīnānī family, borne also by ʿAbd al-Malik, see Shiro Ando, "The *Shaykh al-Islām* as a Timurid Office: A Preliminary Study," *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad) 33, nos. 2–3 (1994): 256–58.

The endowment appears to have been for the maintenance of certain unnamed tombs (*mashāhid*) in Samarqand which were clearly part of a larger complex that was a regular place of visitation or pilgrimage.[41] It is not out of the question that, in view of the background of the donor, the tomb shrine complex in question was that of the Marghīnānī family.[42] The endowed properties consisted mainly of agricultural properties in the region of Samarqand. No further information about the endowment is available, since the portion of the document describing the conditions of the endowment and management of the complex is missing.

5. Vaqfiyya*s of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a* madrasa, khānaqāh, *and library in Bukhara*

These are late eighteenth-century copies of summaries of the charter deeds of endowment to which additional endowments were made by Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā who also amended the conditions.[43] Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420) was the scion of the illustrious Ḥāfiẓī family of Hanafite legal scholars of Bukhara, and the author of many important works on Sufism and the Islamic religious sciences. As the disciple and successor of the Sufi shaikh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband, he was the chief formulator of Naqshbandī doctrines in the early Timurid period.[44]

[41] See Chekhovich, "Vakufnyi dokument vremeni Tīmūra," 58, lines 1, 17–18.

[42] He was buried in the cemetery of Chākirdīza—see *Qandiyya dar bayān-i mazārāt-i Samarqand*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1334/1955), 88. The shrine was still functioning in the first half of the nineteenth century—see Abū Ṭāhir b. Qāżī Abū Saʿīd Samarqandī, *Samariyya*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī and Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1331/1952–53), 28–29.

[43] MSS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I–323, no. 55/13 (for a *madrasa*), no. 1291/16 (for a *khānaqāh*), and no. 55/14 (for a *kitābkhāna*). For descriptions of these documents, see [Miradylov], *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Uzbekskoi SSR, Fond I–323*, opis' 1, kn. 1, nos. 55/13, 55/14; opis' 1, kn. 2, no. 1291/16. Unpublished. The copies of the documents were all made at the same time, and are part of continuous scrolls stamped with the seal of the Manghit ruler of Bukhara Shāh Murād b. Dāniyāl (Amīr Maʿṣūm), who had many endowment deeds transcribed during his rule (1785–1800).

[44] For his works and political activities, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*: Scholars and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara (The Library of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā)," in DeWeese, *Studies on Central Asian History*, 87–91; and Jürgen Paul,

The endowments he established in Bukhara were for the maintenance and support of the activities of a *madrasa*, a *khānaqāh*, and a legal library. He may also have endowed a mosque in Bukhara that bore his name.[45] The endowment deeds for the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* bear no dates, but they must relate to the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* were adjacent to each other and located in the Khvāja Pārsā quarter in the Kalābād district of the city.[46] The endowments to the *madrasa* consisted of approximately 1300 *ṭanāb* (approximately 812 acres) of agricultural land in the Bukhara region, while the endowments to the *khānaqāh* were mainly residential and commercial properties within the city.[47] Both endowments were of the mixed type, with the donor acting as trustee for the duration of his lifetime, and his descendants inheriting his position after his death. The trustee of the *madrasa* was to receive 10 per cent of the income from the endowment as his salary, and the trustee of the *khānaqāh* was to receive 20 per cent.[48]

The deed of endowment for the library dates from 810/1407–8 and is actually a late copy of a summary, or perhaps even of the summary of a summary, of an even earlier charter deed of endowment that was not just for the library (*kitābkhāna*) but also for an unnamed tomb (*mazār*) located in it.[49] The existence of a tomb in the library, which may have been that of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā's father, underscores the link that existed between many Timurid endowments and funerary

Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān/Naqshbandīya in the First Generation after Bahā'uddīn (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1998), 8, 26, 62.

[45] Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā's name does not actually appear in the deed of endowment, which is dated 1153/1740, only in the title of the late eighteenth-century copy. See *Vaqfiyya* [of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā] for a mosque (*masjid*) in Bukhara, MS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I–323, no. 1291/17.

[46] See *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a *madrasa*, lines 14–15; and *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a *khānaqāh*, line 14. For the location of the *madrasa*, see Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 99–100; and Bregel, *Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, 81.

[47] For the term *ṭanāb*, which was used in Central Asia for the *jarīb*, see chap. 5, n. 94 above.

[48] *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a *madrasa*, line 48; and *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a *khānaqāh*, line 43.

[49] See *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a library (*kitābkhāna*), lines 1–62, especially lines 34–37. The date 810 is mentioned only in a confirmatory ruling appended to the endowment deed. This *vaqfiyya* has been referred to by a number of scholars, notably O. A. Sukhareva, who made use of it in her study on the urban history of Bukhara—see O. A. Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary (V sviazi s istoriei kvartalov)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 220.

memorials for family members.[50] The summary of the deed of endowment is followed by two rulings, also in late eighteenth-century copies. The first, which contains the above-mentioned date of 810/1407–8, is a ruling confirming the validity of the endowment after a pro forma claim was made against it;[51] and the second, dated 992/1584, is a ruling on what appears to have been a real claim against the endowment, which confirmed the endowed status of the disputed properties.[52]

According to the endowment deed, the library, which was a free-standing structure, was located in the Kūy-i Dihqān (Dihqān Street or Quarter) in the old Shahristān district of Bukhara.[53] Contrary to the recent assertions of a number of Central Asian scholars, the library was not housed in Muḥammad Pārsā's *khānaqāh* which, as already noted, was adjacent to his *madrasa* and located in another district of the city.[54] On the basis of the endowment deed and other contemporary sources, it has been possible to some extent to reconstruct the history of the library. It appears that it had originally been established by Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā's ancestor—and the Ḥāfiẓī family's eponymous founder—Maulānā Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Kabīr al-Bukhārī (d. 693/1294), a noted religious scholar and Hanafite jurist of Bukhara, and it may have been based on an earlier existing library connected with the Maḥbūbī dynasty of religious scholars, to which members of the Ḥāfiẓī family were closely linked intellectually. However, the library likely became associated with the name of Muḥammad Pārsā because of his prominence as a religious scholar and political figure of the early Timurid period.[55] The properties

[50] For this hypothesis, see Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 97, 86–87. It could not have been the tomb of Muḥammad Pārsā's ancestor Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Kabīr, because he was buried in the Tall-i Bughra Beg cemetery in the Kalābād district of the city.

[51] *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a library, lines 63–74. For this practice, see chap. 5, pp. 172–73 above.

[52] *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a library, lines 75–89.

[53] *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a library, line 37. For the library's location, see Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 98–101. In his brief comments about my article, Florian Schwarz disputes my description of the location of the library, without providing an alternative—see his review of *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese, in *Iranian Studies* 39, no. 1 (2006): 97.

[54] See Lola Dodkhudoeva, "La bibliothèque de Khwâja Mohammad Pârsâ," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 5–6 (1998): 127ff.; and Ashirbek Muminov and Shavasil Ziyadov, "L'horizon intellectuel d'un érudit du XV^e^ siècle: Nouvelles découvertes sur la bibliothèque de Muḥammad Pârsâ," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 7 (1999): 78–79.

[55] See Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 82–84, 87–88, 97–98.

he donated appear to have consisted entirely of agricultural lands in the Bukhara region.[56]

Like Muḥammad Pārsā's other endowments, the endowment for the library was a mixed *vaqf* that had a public purpose, but the trusteeship of which was under the control of the donor and his family. The trustee's salary was 20 per cent of the income from the endowment, with 40 per cent being spent on social welfare purposes, and another 40 per cent on maintenance and repairs. According to the conditions of the endowment, any surplus left over was to be used for the purchase of new books.[57]

Probably the finest and longest-functioning library in the history of post-Mongol Central Asia, the library associated with the name of Muḥammad Pārsā was unusual in that it was not attached to a religious institution, such as a *madrasa* or *khānaqāh*. Rather, it was a public lending library, albeit for a restricted readership. In fact, it appears to have been established for the exclusive use of the jurists (*fuqahā'*) of Bukhara, and its contents, to the extent that these can be reconstructed, reflected this professional bias.[58] The library was still making acquisitions as late as the 1840s, but by the end of the nineteenth century it had ceased to operate and had fallen into decay. As for the books, these are now dispersed throughout the world.[59]

6. Vaqfiyya *of Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim for the 'Ishratkhāna mausoleum in Samarqand*

This is an authentic copy of the charter deed of endowment, dated 1 Ramaḍān 868/May 8, 1464.[60] The donor, Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim, was the daughter of a certain Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Suhrāb, and sixth wife of

[56] See Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 102.

[57] *Vaqfiyya* of Khvāja Muḥammad Pārsā for a library, lines 46–50.

[58] See Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 97, 105–6. For my conjecture that the name of the library was *Dār al-fuqahā'* (i.e., College of jurisprudents), see Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 100.

[59] For the fate of the library, see Subtelny, "The Making of *Bukhārā-yi Sharīf*," 108–10.

[60] For the facsimile edition and a partial Russian translation of the document, see V. L. Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument Ishratkhana," in *Mavzolei Ishratkhana*, ed. M. E. Masson (Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury Uzbekskoi SSR, 1958), 111–36. For a description of the document, see Chekhovich, "Novaia kollektsiia dokumentov," 263ff.

the Timurid Sulṭān-Aḥmad (d. 899/1494), who was the son of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd, the Timurid ruler of Samarqand at the time.[61] It is known that Sulṭān-Aḥmad was married to a Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim, who was the daughter of a brother—unfortunately not named—of the powerful Arghun *amīr* Sulṭān Arghun, whose tribe constituted the core of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's household guard.[62] It is very likely that the Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Suhrāb mentioned in the endowment deed as Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim's father was this unnamed brother of Amīr Sulṭān Arghun.

The endowment was for a mausoleum she constructed for Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's daughter Khvānd-Sulṭān Bike, located in the Bāgh-i Fīrūza (Turquoise Garden) in Samarqand next to the shrine of a local saint, Khvāja 'Abdī Darūn.[63] The deed of endowment, which bears numerous imprints of the seal of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd himself, as well as of those of several of his sons and daughters, attests to the close connections Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim had to Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's family.[64] It has been noted that, in terms of its architectural decoration and design, the mausoleum is strikingly similar to the Aq Sarāy mausoleum built by Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim's husband Sulṭān-Aḥmad during the 1470s.[65] During the nineteenth century, apparently on account of its attractive ruins and garden setting, which made it an ideal spot for picnics and outings, the building became popularly known as "'Ishratkhāna" (The

[61] In the document, she is referred to only as the daughter of an Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Suhrāb, with no reference to her husband—see Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument," 122–23.

[62] See Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:96; and Babur, *Babur-nāma*, fol. 20b. For the list of Sulṭān-Aḥmad's wives, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 36–37, no. 3.9.2.2(f). For the Arghun family, see Ando, *Timuridische Emire*, 173–75. Masson's contention that Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim was the senior wife of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd and that her father is to be identified with Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh, is not supported by the historical evidence—see M. E. Masson, "Samarkandskii mavzolei, izvestnyi pod nazvaniem Ishratkhana: Istoriko-arkheologicheskii ocherk," in Masson, *Mavzolei Ishratkhana*, 27–29; and following him, G. A. Pugachenkova, "'Ishrat-khāneh and Ak-saray: Two Timurid Mausoleums in Samarkand," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 177–78. The name Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim does not appear in the list of Sulṭān-Abū Sa'īd's wives—see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 35–36, no. 3.9.2.

[63] See Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument," 123, 126. For Khvānd-Sulṭān Bike, see Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 40, no. 3.9.2.z [although the reference to her mother should be corrected to read 3.9.2.(y)]. See also Chekhovich, "Novaia kollektsiia dokumentov," 264–65.

[64] See Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument," 121–22.

[65] See Pugachenkova, "'Ishrat-khāneh," 186–87. See also Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:268–70, no. 35.

abode of pleasure), a moniker not encountered in the sources of the fifteenth century.[66]

Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim's motives for establishing the endowment, which was a "mixed" charitable and private *vaqf*, are unclear. At the time, Sulṭān-Aḥmad would only have been about thirteen years old, and Ḥabība-Sulṭān could not have been much older.[67] It is not known whether she was already married to Sulṭān-Aḥmad, but her young age would not have precluded the union, especially as it appears that the marriage was a political one, intended to link a powerful amirid family with the Timurid ruling house. It may be speculated that her father, who is mentioned in the *vaqfiyya* as deceased, had died recently, and that she had come into an inheritance that she conveyed to *vaqf* as a long-term investment for herself. As has already been established, there was a tradition of patronage of funerary architecture by Timurid royal women. By creating an endowment for a mausoleum in which Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd's daughter, who was also her husband's half-sister, was buried, Ḥabība-Sulṭān would have linked herself and her descendants even more closely to the Timurid royal house.[68] It is possible that her endowment was only one of many that were established over time for the mausoleum, which became a place of burial for a number of women and children of the Timurid royal house.[69]

The endowments consisted of agricultural properties in the Samarqand region;[70] twenty pairs of oxen, and thirty-two slaves to work the land and to serve as attendants at the mausoleum; and many precious objects, including carpets, bronze cauldrons, coverlets and wall hangings made of fine fabrics, such as silk, brocade, etc., and oil lamps and candelabra made of bronze, gold, porcelain, etc.[71] The charitable activities provided for were similar to those at the mausoleum of Afaq Begim, although on a much more modest scale.

[66] Masson, "Samarkandskii mavzolei," 12ff.

[67] Compare her young age with that of Khalīl-Sulṭān's daughter Sarāy-Malik Agha, who must have been around fifteen at the time of the establishment of her endowment, for which see n. 36 above.

[68] Viatkin was uncertain about the exact nature of the relationship between the two women—see his "Vakufnyi dokument," 132. As Sulṭān-Aḥmad's wife, Ḥabība-Sulṭān Begim would have been Khvānd-Sulṭān Bike's (half-)sister-in-law.

[69] See Masson, "Samarkandskii mavzolei," 40.

[70] The estimated size of these properties was between 120 and 150 hectares (= 300–375 acres)—see Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument," 136.

[71] Viatkin, "Vakufnyi dokument," 123–26.

7. Vaqfiyyas *of the Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār of Samarqand*

The influential Naqshbandī shaikh Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār (d. 1490) created a number of pious endowments in Samarqand and Tashkent during the last decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest on record, based on the charter deed of endowment dated 874/1470, was for a *madrasa* in the Darb-i Sūzangarān quarter of Samarqand.[72] Another endowment, dated 894/1489, was for a *khānaqāh* complex he established just south of Samarqand in the village of Khvāja Kafshīr, called Muḥavvaṭa-i mullāyān (or mavālī), which served as the focal point of his spiritual community and as the administrative centre of his agricultural enterprise.[73] Sometime before his death in 1490 he made an addition to the endowment of the aforementioned *madrasa* in Samarqand,[74] and he created another endowment for a *madrasa*, a congregational mosque, and a neighbourhood mosque in Tashkent.[75]

All the endowments were of the mixed type, with Aḥrār himself acting as the trustee (*mutavallī*) of the endowed foundations. After his death, his position was to be inherited by his male descendants, who were also designated as beneficiaries of a portion of the endowment revenues, in accordance with the provisions for a family-type *vaqf*.[76] Based on the extensive documentary record, which has been subjected to considerable scholarly scrutiny of late, it is possible to ascertain the extent of Aḥrār's involvement in the agrarian economies of several key regions of Timurid Transoxiana, including the Tashkent, Samarqand,

[72] For an edition and Russian translation, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 5. For an abridged English translation, see Jo-Ann Gross, "A Central Asian *Waqf* of Naqshbandi Sufi Master Khwaja Ahrar," in *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life*, ed. John Renard (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 231–35.

[73] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 10. For the development of this endowed foundation through the seventeenth century, see McChesney, *Central Asia*, 98–109.

[74] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 11.

[75] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 12.

[76] In 953/1546, a new summary listing was made of all of Aḥrār's endowments by an unknown trustee—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, no. 17. See also Stephen F. Dale and Alam Payind, "The Ahrārī *Waqf* in Kābul in the Year 1546 and the Mughūl Naqshbandiyyah," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, no. 2 (1999): 218–33. The beneficiaries of the endowments were Aḥrār's tomb shrine in the Muḥavvaṭa-i mullāyān complex, a *madrasa* and mosque he had built in Kabul, and his descendants.

and Bukhara regions.[77] The endowments survived well into the nineteenth century, reflecting the socio-religious and economic influence of the Aḥrārī family that administered them.[78]

8. Vaqfiyya *of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim for the paired royal* madrasas *in Samarqand*

This *vaqfiyya* actually belongs to the early Shibanid period, but it is included in the list of Central Asian Timurid deeds of endowment because it closely follows the Timurid traditions of Herat, being very similar in circumstances and wording to the endowment deed of Afaq Begim, discussed earlier. The donor was Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim, who was the daughter of the Qazaq khan Burunduq and widow of Muḥammad-Temür Sulṭān, the son of the founder of the Transoxanian Uzbek state, Muḥammad Shibanī Khan (d. 916/1510).[79] Her late husband, Muḥammad-Temür, had a connection with Herat, and one of his honorific titles was *pādshāh-i Harāt*.[80]

Mihr-Sulṭān's endowment was for two adjacent *madrasas* in Samarqand that formed an architectural ensemble.[81] The Madrasa-i ʿĀliyya-i Khāniyya (also known as the Shamāliyya, or Northern *madrasa*), which had been established by her father-in-law Muḥammad Shibanī Khan, and her husband Muḥammad-Temür Sulṭān, was completed by her after their deaths. Located in the middle of the ensemble was the

[77] For Aḥrār's economic activity, see Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung*, 113–63; Gross and Urunbaev, *Letters of Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār*, 17–20; and Jo-Ann Gross, "The Economic Status of a Timurid Sufi Shaykh: A Matter of Conflict or Perception?" *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988): 94–103.

[78] See Jo-Ann Gross, "The *Waqf* of Khoja ʿUbayd Allah Aḥrār in Nineteenth Century Central Asia: A Preliminary Study of the Tsarist Record," in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia: Change and Continuity*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1999), 59–60.

[79] For an edition and Russian translation of the document, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 103–313. Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim was also known as Mihrbān and Mihrī Khanim—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 228.

[80] He had been in charge of the second unsuccessful Uzbek attempt to capture the city from the Safavid Qizilbash in 919/1513, and when retreating to Samarqand, he brought back many prominent hostages, among them Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyāṣ, Sulṭān-Ḥusain's agronomist and landscape architect. His honorific title *pādshāh-i Harāt* also happens to be a chronogram on the date of his death—see Baxtiyor Babadjanov, Ashirbek Muminov, and Jürgen Paul, eds. and trans., *Schaibanidische Grabinschriften* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1997), 71–72.

[81] They were sometimes referred to as the Kosh (i.e., Paired) *madrasas*—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 9.

Shibanid family burial platform (referred to variously as *ṣuffa*, *dakhma*, and *takht*), in which they were both buried, and which she had revetted in marble.[82] The second *madrasa*, called the Janūbiyya, or Southern *madrasa*, was built by her, and it also housed her mausoleum.[83]

The charter deed of endowment has not survived, but the text of the document has been preserved in two undated manuscript copies, both of which are in the form of bound volumes.[84] R. G. Mukminova dated the *vaqfiyya* to the 1520s, but there is no evidence to support this late date.[85] Rather, since it appears to follow closely the practice reflected in the endowment of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's wife Afaq Begim, whereby a widow created an endowment to preserve her property from confiscation by her husband's political successors, it ought to be dated to shortly after the death of Mihr-Sulṭān's husband, Muḥammad-Temür Sulṭān, who died young on 20 Muḥarram 920/March 17, 1514.[86] Since Mihr-Sulṭān designated herself as trustee of the endowment, and her descendants after her death, the endowment was of the mixed type, combining features of the family and charitable endowments.[87] The trustee was to receive 20 per cent of the revenues of the endowment as his salary;

[82] See Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 108–11, 228–29. For a description of the sarcophagus (which was transferred out of the *madrasa* at the end of the nineteenth century), and the many burials contained in it, see Babadjanov, Muminov, and Paul, *Schaibanidische Grabinschriften*, 125, 128ff.

[83] She was to be buried with her head facing her husband's feet—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 111–12, 229.

[84] The copies have been dated to the early sixteenth century (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, B-670), and the eighteenth century (Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 5905)—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 85ff.

[85] Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 7.

[86] The date of Muḥammad-Temür's death is contained in the inscription on his tombstone—see Babadjanov, Muminov, and Paul, *Schaibanidische Grabinschriften*, 71–72 (reading his name as Tīmūr-Muḥammad). Mukminova's late dating actually contradicts her own hypothesis that the *vaqf* was created by Mihr-Sulṭān to preserve the property of her husband from confiscation after his death—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 98; also R. G. Mukminova, "K kharakteristike feodal'nogo instituta 'tiiul' v Srednei Azii," in *Formy feodal'noi zemel'noi sobstvennosti i vladeniia na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke: Bartol'dovskie chteniia 1975 g.*, ed. B. G. Gafurov, G. F. Girs, and E. A. Davidovich (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 123–24. If this was the goal, Mihr-Sulṭān would have created the endowment immediately after Muḥammad-Temür's death in 1514, and not waited until the 1520s. Interestingly enough, the date of the document is given as 920/1514–15 in H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, sec. 3, *Moslim Central Asian Turkish Literature*, pt. 1, *Authors*, 6 vols. in 2 (Utrecht: Library of the University of Utrecht; under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1969), 5:231.

[87] Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 200, 202.

but if he was not a direct descendant of the donor, the salary was to be reduced to 5 per cent.[88]

The endowed properties included many commercial properties in the city of Samarqand: a bath and shops (e.g., bakeries, a greengrocer's shop, a pottery shop, a dyer's shop, a butcher shop, etc.) in several bazaars; shopping arcades (*tīmcha*); residential properties; and improvements on properties (*suknīyāt*).[89] The agricultural properties that were endowed were located (a) outside Samarqand in the *maḥalla* of Jūy-i Nau: a *chahārbāgh* and a villa; two hundred *ṭanāb* of land; mills, paper-making workshops, and other shops, (b) in the *tūmān* of Shāvdār-i ʿUlyā in the district of Samarqand: a compound (*muḥavvaṭa*) in the village of Dih-i Nau, known as Chahārbāgh-i Qanbar Ḥināfurūsh, (c) in the village of Vakhshatī: 144 plots of land, generally around one *khail* in size; additional plots; a mill; the village of Maghvīn(?), (d) in the *vilāyat* of Kesh: several villages or shares thereof; a mill; the improvements (*suknīyāt*) on mills, etc., (e) in the *vilāyat* of Nasaf: the village of Gubdīn; a hamlet, and (f) in the *tūmān* of Anhār-i Jadīd in the *vilāyat* of Samarqand: a village with its surrounding agricultural lands.[90]

The provisions for the payment of stipends for the personnel associated with the *madrasa*s are presented below in tabular form, and may be compared with those in Mīr ʿAlīshīr's deed of endowment for the Ikhlāṣiyya *madrasa-khānaqāh* complex in Herat, although the denominations in cash and kind were different after the Shibanid currency reform. The table does not include the amounts spent on social welfare purposes in the form of food rations that were to be distributed throughout the year and on Muslim feast days.[91]

[88] Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 67–68, 297.

[89] Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 233–42. The improvement, which could be a building or even plantings, was considered to be separate from the land and fully conveyable. For the term *suknīyāt/uskuna*, see O. D. Chekhovich, "Materialy po terminologii istoricheskikh istochnikov: Terminologicheskie zametki," *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1964, no. 6:71–74.

[90] Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 242–81, 285–92.

[91] For an estimate of the total annual expenditures of the endowment, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 59–60. Compared with the endowment of Afaq Begim, rations were distributed on fewer occasions at Mihr-Sulṭān's endowment. Otherwise, the same feast days were observed, with the exception of Istiftāḥ, which was celebrated on the fifteenth of Shaʿbān (given as the Night of Barāt in Afaq Begim's *vaqfiyya*), and the first of Rajab (perhaps the dates of these two feasts were flexible). For the description of food distributed at Mihr-Sulṭān's foundation, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 219–21.

Table of the Salaries and Stipends of the Personnel of the Paired *Madrasa*s of Muḥammad Shibanī Khan and the Mausoleum of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim in Samarqand

Post	No. persons	Annual stipend			
		In cash[92]		In kind[93]	
MADRASA 1					
Trustee (*mutavallī*)	1	20% (or 5%) of revenues			
Professors (*mudarris*)	2	7,200	[1,800]	300	[3.0]
Mudarris-muqrī	1	4,800	[1,200]	250	[0.25]
Repeaters (*muʿīd*)	2	900?	[225]	85	[0.85]
Muʿīd	1	720	[180]	70	[0.7]
Qurʾān reciters (*ḥāfiẓ*):	15 (total)				
lead reciter	1	840	[210]	90	[0.9]
others	14	720	[180]	80	[0.8]
Imām	1	540	[135]	45	[0.45]
Students:	75 (total)				
advanced	25	540	[135]	60	[0.6]
intermediate	25	360	[90]	45	[0.45]
beginners	25	300	[75]	30	[0.3]
Cook (*ṭabbākh*)	1	360	[90]	30	[0.3]
Administrator (*khādim*)	1	360	[90]	30	[0.3]
Caretaker (*farrāsh*)	1	360	[90]	30	[0.3]
Custodian (*mujāvir*)	1	360	[90]	30	[0.3]
Muʾazzin	1	300	[75]	30	[0.3]
Administrator (*khādim*)	1	300	[75]	30	[0.3]
Water supplier (*saqqāʾ*)	1	300	[75]	30	[0.3]
MADRASA 2					
Professor (*mudarris*)	1				
Repeater (*muʿīd*)	1				
Students:	9 (total)	6,000	[1,500]	300	[0.3]
advanced	3				
intermediate	3				
beginners	3				

[92] In copper *dīnārs* (*dīnār-i fulūs*). The approximate equivalent in *kapakī dīnārs* is given in brackets. For a description of the denomination, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 311. Six *fils* equalled one copper *dīnār*, and twenty copper *dīnārs* weighed one *miṣqāl* of pure silver. After Muḥammad Shibanī Khan's currency reform, which began in 913/1507–8, the old *kapakī dīnār/tanga* was devalued, and now five *kapakī dīnārs*, rather than three, weighed one *miṣqāl* of silver. Therefore, one *kapakī dīnār* equalled four *Samarqandī dīnārs*—see E. A. Davidovich, "Denezhnaia reforma Sheibani-khana: Iz istorii srednеaziatskoi ėkonomiki v XVI v.," in *Materialy po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Srednei Azii*, vyp. 1 (Stalinabad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR, 1954), 85ff.; and E. A. Davidovich, *Istoriia denezhnogo obrashcheniia srednevekovoi Srednei Azii: Mednye monety XV–pervoi chetverti XVI v. v Maverannakhre* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), 223ff.

[93] In Samarqandī *mann*, which must have been quite different from the Heratī *mann*

The *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān bears a striking similarity to the endowment deed of Afaq Begim for her mausoleum in Herat. An analysis of its wording and style indicates that it must have been directly modelled on it.[94] Both endowments were roughly contemporaneous. If, as I have argued, Mihr-Sulṭān's endowment was established shortly after the death of her husband, it would have dated about eight years after Afaq Begim's. Both donors were royal women who established their endowments soon after the deaths of their husbands. In both cases, the beneficiary of the endowment was the donor's own mausoleum, which was housed in a royal *madrasa*. In both cases, the endowed properties represented a mixture of commercial and agricultural parcels, although in Mihr-Sulṭān's endowment, commercial properties appear to have predominated, perhaps reflecting the greater importance of trade and the handicrafts industry in Samarqand. Finally, both women designated themselves as trustees of their own endowed foundations for the duration of their lifetimes. While Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim's endowment exhibited features of the family type, since she designated her own children and descendants as her successors in the post of trustee, in the case of Afaq Begim's endowment, this could not have been the case, since she had no children of her own.

referred to in the Timurid *vaqfiyyas* above—see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 90–91. For the weights used, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 311. For purposes of comparison, the figures in brackets are in *kharvārs*, or assloads, weighing 100 *mann* each.

[94] This is highly likely, since the Hanafite legal formulary *al-Jawāmi' al-'Aliyya*, which was compiled in the early sixteenth century, contained many Timurid documents as models. For this work, see chap. 6, p. 222 above.

APPENDIX TWO

A TIMURID DEED OF ENDOWMENT: THE *VAQFIYYA* OF AFAQ BEGIM, WIFE OF SULṬĀN-ḤUSAIN BAYQARA, FOR HER MAUSOLEUM IN HERAT

Description of the Document

The deed of endowment of Afaq Begim is an exceptionally fine example of the Perso-Islamic chancery tradition in the domain of *vaqf*.[1] It is written in Persian in the juridical style characteristic of medieval deeds of endowment (*vaqfiyya* or *vaqf-nāma*), with frequent insertion of Arabic formulae and legal clauses.[2]

The document is in the form of a continuous scroll of cream-coloured Samarqand paper of very high quality.[3] The scroll is 1,386 cm (i.e., almost 14 m) long and 31 cm wide, with the right margin measuring approximately 7.5 cm and the left margin measuring between 1.5 and 2 cm. The length of the individual pages that have been glued together to form the scroll is approximately 52 cm, although a few pages are slightly shorter. The glue-lines are imprinted with twenty-seven seals of the chief judge of Herat (for whom see below). The document consists of a total of 321 lines. The text of the first 212 lines is piled up in pyramid fashion at the end of each line. The space between lines measures from 5 to 5.5 cm, and the height of the letter *alif* is approximately 0.6 cm.

The calligraphy is a very clean and elegant *nasta'līq*. The ink is black and unfaded. Regarding orthographical peculiarities, there is frequent omission of diacritical points. The letters *j*, *b*, and *k* are often used for *ch*, *p*, *g*. *Alif madda* is generally not indicated. The letters *j* and *kh* are

[1] MS, Tashkent, Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, fond I–323, no. 1427. I would like to thank my colleagues in Tashkent, Galiba A. Dzhuraeva and the late Roziya G. Mukminova, for their assistance in locating the document, and Irkin A. Abdullaev, Director of the Central State Archive, for permission to reproduce.

[2] See Christoph Werner, "Formal Aspects of Qajar Deeds of Sale," in Kondo, *Persian Documents*, 31.

[3] The archaeographical description of the document follows the outline established by O. D. Chekhovich in her *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 41–48.

sometimes additionally indicated by means of a tiny *hamza*-like mark under the letter. The letter *ḥ* is sometimes additionally indicated by means of a dagger *alif*-like mark under the letter. The letter *ʿain* is sometimes also additionally indicated by means of a tiny *ʿain* written under it, and the letter *k* is sometimes additionally indicated by means of a tiny *kāf* set inside the letter. In several instances, words or parts of words have been crossed out, indicating scribal corrections.

The notarized portion of the document is dated 29 Ṣafar 912/July 22, 1506, and signed by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Imāmī, the chief judge of Herat.[4] His large circular seal, 2.5 cm in diameter, contains an inscription with the date 902/1496–97, which was probably that of his appointment to office. The judge's signature is followed by the signatures, and in some cases also the seals, of seven witnesses. Imprinted four times in the document is the seal of the donor, which is a small, hexagonal seal, 1.5 cm in diameter, containing the inscription, "Afaq Beki, daughter of Amīr Ḥasan, who trusts in the kindness of [God] who bestows all favours."[5]

There is a substantial notation in the right margin between lines 285 and 316 in what appears to be a different hand.[6] It may be read by rotating the document 180 degrees. It is, in fact, a separate document beginning with the standard invocation, "He" (i.e., In the Name of God), and it represents a revision of one of the conditions made by the donor in the endowment deed. Although it does not contain a date or signatures, it bears two imprints of the seal of the donor, Afaq Begim.

The document is defective at the beginning, but otherwise in an exceptionally good state of preservation. Following the well-established model for deeds of endowment, the missing parts would have included an invocation to God, praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, a statement regarding the religious motives for establishing the endowment, the full name and titles of the donor, and a formal declaration that the donor has, by means of a legal act, established a pious endowment based on

[4] For Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (also known as Qāżī Mīrakī) and the Imāmī family of chief judges of Herat, see chap. 5, n. 135.

[5] Note that her title is given in the Mongolian form, Beki (written Bīkī in Arabic script), for which see Doerfer, *Turkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:235. For the seal ring of Shāhrukh's wife Gauharshād, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 225; and A. A. Ivanov, "Pechat' Gaukhar-Shad," *Strany i narody Vostoka* 10 (1971): 199–201.

[6] For the practice of providing information in the right margin of a document, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 19–20.

the conveyance of his or her private property to *vaqf*.[7] Also missing after these introductory sections is the description of the endowed properties numbered 1 through 134 in the original. The document thus begins only with the description of the parcel numbered 135, part of which is also missing.[8]

Appended to the deed of endowment are two confirmatory documents, and a ruling on a lawsuit, that was attached to the beginning of the endowment deed.[9] The confirmatory documents were rulings made in response to pro forma claims brought against the endowment.[10] They are dated 7 Rabīʿ I 912/July 28, 1506 and 18 Rabīʿ I 912/August 8, 1506, that is, seven and eighteen days, respectively, after the date of notarization of the endowment deed. They are on the same continuous scroll as the deed of endowment and may be in the same hand. Both are intact and in excellent condition.

The first confirmatory ruling is 439 cm long and consists of 191 lines, the space between lines being 2 cm. The right margin is 6 cm wide and the left is 2.5 cm wide. The document contains the signature and is imprinted with nine seals of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh al-Imāmī, the same judge who notarized the endowment deed, and it also contains the signatures of several other judges and witnesses, including what appears to be the seal of another judge. The second confirmatory ruling is 279 cm long and consists of 108 lines, the space between lines also being 2 cm. The right margin is 8.5 cm wide and the left is 3 cm wide. The document contains the signature and six seals of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh al-Imāmī. It also contains the signatures of ten other witnesses and judges.

The third document is a fragment of a ruling on a lawsuit that had been brought against the endowment by Fāṭima-Sulṭān Aghaja, the female trustee of another endowment. It is in the form of a continuous scroll on dark cream-coloured, highly polished Samarqand paper

[7] For the structure of the endowment deed, see Bahadir A. Kazakov, "Analyse structurelle des actes de *waqf* provenant d'Asie centrale, XIII^{e}–déb. XX^{e} s. (dans la perspective de l'établissement de modèles pour banques de données)," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 7 (1999): 221–26 (the present document belongs to the older model discussed).

[8] For a discussion of these, see chap. 5, pp. 182–84 above.

[9] These two documents have not been translated here, as they simply repeat, in a greatly abbreviated form, the description of the endowed properties in the endowment deed, prefacing each parcel with its number written out in words.

[10] For a discussion of this practice in deeds of endowment from the sixteenth century, see Ken'ichi Isogai, "A Commentary on the Closing Formula Found in the Central Asian Waqf Documents," in Kondo, *Persian Documents*, 3–5; and chap. 5, pp. 172–73 above.

of exceptionally high quality. It is 395 cm in length and 28.5 cm in width. It consists of only 67 lines of text, with the space between lines measuring from 5 to 5.5 cm. The right margin is 7.25 cm wide and the left is 4 cm wide. It is in an entirely different hand, being written in a clearly executed, monumental *nasta'līq* script, with diacriticals and even vocalization carefully indicated. The letters are loosely packed, and the height of the letter *alif* is aproximately 1.3 cm. In accordance with medieval Persian chancery practice, the judge's ruling was attached to the beginning of the deed of endowment. Besides the fact that the beginning and end are missing, the document had been torn in several places and the parts glued together in incorrect order.[11]

The notarized portion of the ruling on a lawsuit is missing, and hence there is no date. However, the document contains the imprints of seven seals of the chief judge of Herat, [Quṭb al-Dīn] Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Imāmī; fourteen seals of other judges; and, most significantly, the seal of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's son Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was co-regent of Herat at the time, together with his brother Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā. His large circular seal, 2.75 cm in diameter, contains his full name Abū al-Manṣūr Muẓaffar-Ḥusain Bahadur Ibn Abū al-Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bahadur, as well as the Timurid motto *rāstī rastī* (In rectitude lies salvation), which appeared on seals and coins of the Timurids from Temür's time onward.[12]

There is no doubt that all four documents are original and authentic. According to the present state of our knowledge, they represent the only original documents pertaining to pious endowments that relate specifically to the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara.

[11] Part of this document was filed under no. 1427 in the Central State Archive, and another part was misfiled, together with the deed of endowment, under no. 819.

[12] The imprint of his seal occurs on line 49 of the document. The Persian motto is based on a wordplay in which the first vowel is read long in the first word and short in the second. The meaning of the phrase, which apparently alluded to a prophetic Tradition, is supported by the Arabic translation provided by Ibn 'Arabshāh: *ṣadaqta najauta* (If you are upright/just, you will be saved/achieve salvation)—see Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr*, 451; and the explanation given by the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī—see Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma* 2:127. For a discussion of the incorrect reading *rāstī rustī*, which Bartol'd and others translated as "In justice is strength," see Horst, *Timūr und Ḫōǧā 'Alī*, 35.

Translation

THE ENDOWED PROPERTIES

....No. 135.[13]...[1] Its western [boundary][14] abuts (*muttaṣil*) the plain (*dasht*) of the aforementioned village (*qarya*). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the land of the aforementioned Khvāja Abū al-Ḥasan [and partly] the land of [the aforementioned] Khvāja Abū Sa'īd....

No. 136....[2] Its [eastern boundary] abuts the land of the aforementioned Maulānā Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad. Its western [boundary] abuts the land of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Turshīzī...like the eastern [boundary]. Its southern [boundary] [abuts]...Abū al-Ḥaṣan b[in]....

No. 137....a plot of land (*qiṭ'a zamīn*). [3] Its eastern [boundary] abuts the land of the aforementioned Khvāja Abū al-Ḥasan. Its western [boundary] abuts the land....

No. 138....[4] the aforementioned....Its southern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) of the aforementioned Khvāja Ḥusainī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) of....Its southern [boundary][15] abuts...[5] from the aforementioned underground irrigation channel (*qanāt*) of Muḥammadābād which rotates among the proprietors (*arbāb*) and shareholders (*shurakā*) in [a cycle of] ten twenty-four hour time periods (*shabāna-rūz*).[16] The

[13] Note: Numbers preceded by the abbreviation "No." refer to the number of the parcel. Most of the parcels are numbered in the right margin of the document according to a system of notation whereby the numeral for hundreds is followed by a period. For this convention, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften*, 310, no. 278. I have also indicated the numbers of individual parcels described under a particular toponym, by means of a hyphen after the sequential numbering. Numbers in square brackets refer to the line number of the facsimile edition of the document. In all other cases, I have used square brackets for interpolations or interpretations of the text, and round brackets for parenthetical statements, explanations, and transliterated terms.

[14] The boundaries (*ḥadd*, pl. *ḥudūd*) of a property were always described with reference to the four cardinal points, usually following the sequence east, west, north, and south. See Werner, "Formal Aspects," 26–27.

[15] Note that two southern boundaries are mentioned for this property. Since the description is very fragmentary (a large part of the line ending has been torn off in the original), it is difficult to know how to interpret this. It may simply be a slip on the part of the copyist. However, it is clearly a single property, because the number of the parcel is indicated in the right margin.

[16] The distribution of water was based on time and divided into rotational cycles consisting of twenty-four hour periods each. See Michael E. Bonine, "From *Qanat* to *Kort*: Traditional Irrigation Terminology and Practices in Central Iran," *Iran* 20 (1982): 149; and Lambton, "Qanāts of Yazd," 23.

aforementioned Muḥammadābād has no other underground water channel, and each share (*sahm*)[17] consists of one twenty-four hour time period.

The province of Bādghīs

No. 139–1. The entirety[18] of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*)[19] consisting of . . . flowing . . . [6] known as the underground water channel (*kārīz*)[20] of Muḥammad Darvīsh Afradī, which is located in the province (*vilāyat*) of Bādghīs in the region (*navāḥī*) of Baba Khākī.[21] Its eastern [boundary] abuts the heights of dead lands (*pushtahā-yi mavāt*)[22] having no owner and known as Yurt-i ʿAbdullāh Bahādurī.[23] Its western [boundary] abuts a dry-farmed field (*daima-zār*)[24] belonging to no one and known as Qirq Qul. Its northern [boundary] abuts the lands of the underground water channel, which is known [7] as the *kārīz* of Sulṭān Shāh ʿAsas and which is now the private property (*milk*) of Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Amīr Sulṭān-Muḥammad Ätäkä.[25] Its southern [boundary] partly abuts the lands of an underground water channel (*kārīz*), an indivisible (*shāyiʿ*)[26] part of which belongs to the estate (*tarika*)

[17] For the concept of the share, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 102–3; also n. 26 below.

[18] For the use of the phrase *hamagī va tamāmī* to introduce the description of a property, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 25–26.

[19] For the term, which I am translating as hamlet, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 290–98; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 4; and Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:12.

[20] For the term *kārīz*, see chap. 4, p. 122 above.

[21] For the region of Bādghīs, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:29–30.

[22] For the term *pushta*, which denoted the elevated area between two wells of a *qanāt* and which as a rule was uncultivated, see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 459; also Bonine, "From *Qanat* to *Kort*," 146. For the term *mavāt*, meaning dead or waste land, see Aghnides, *Islamic Theories of Finance*, 500–505.

[23] For the term *yurt*, meaning a pasturing ground, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 4:212.

[24] For the term *daima-zār*, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 116; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 448; and ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Muʿīn and Jaʿfar Shahīdī, new ed., 14 vols. (Tehran, 1372–73/1993–94), 7:10041.

[25] For the term *milk*, which denoted the right to complete and exclusive disposal of a thing, as distinguished from mere possession, see Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 136; for the occurrence of the term in deeds of endowment, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 205, line 16.

[26] The term *shāyiʿ* (or *mushāʿ*), used with reference to a fraction of a property or a share (*sahm*) in a property, means an indivisible part of or share in that property, held in common—see Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 138–39; and Claude Cahen, "La communauté rurale dans le monde musulman médiéval: Rapport général," in *Les communautés rurales/Rural Communities*, pt. 3, *Asie et Islam/Asia and Islam* (Paris: Dessain et Tolra, 1982), 16 (referring to modern usage). For an examples of the use of the phrase, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 323, line 117; 350 (although she translates *shāyiʿ* incorrectly as "known").

of Muḥammad Darvīsh b. Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Afradī, and [which has been?] described.[27]

No. 140–2. The entirety of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*) consisting of the flowing underground water channel known [8] as the *qanāt* of Shalāyīn, which is located in the province of Bādghīs in the region (*navāḥī*) of Bāghī (?) Ribāṭ. Its southern [boundary] abuts the lands (*arāżī*) of the underground water channel (*qanāt*) of Amīr Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sanjarī, which now belong to the state treasury (*dīvān*). Its western [boundary] partly abuts the lands of the heights (*pushta*) of Shalāyīn, which are ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).[28] [9] Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the lands of the underground water channel (*qanāt*) of Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the son of the late Great lord, Khvāja Bahā' al-Dīn al-Khvāfī,[29] and partly lands which are ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] abuts [partly] lands which are ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*) and which [have been assigned] as a revenue grant (*tiyul*)[30] to a consortium (*jamʿī*), and partly the lands of the underground water channel (*qanāt*) of the Great *amīr* [10] Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Yādgār.[31]

No. 141–3. The entirety of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*) consisting of a flowing underground water channel (*kārīz*) and the lands adjacent to it, known as the *kārīz* of Yūsuf Khvāja Güyük, located in the province of Bādghīs in the region (*navāḥī*) of Baba Khākī. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the lands of the underground water channel known as the *kārīz* of [11] Iqbāl. Its western [boundary] abuts the heights of dead lands (*pushtahā-yi mavāt*) known as the heights of Baba Shaidā, which are dry-farmed

[27] Actually written Afravī, but Afradī in lines 6 above and 153 below. The last phrase has been added by the scribe in the left margin.

[28] For a discussion of the term *khāliṣa*, see chap. 6, p. 220 above.

[29] I have not been able to identify these individuals. The title *ṣāḥib*[*-dīvān*] suggests his father was a *vazīr* in the bureaucratic administration. For another reference to these individuals, see line 133 below.

[30] For the term, see Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," 513–16; and Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 394. It appears that *khāliṣa* lands were either rented out or granted as *tiyuls*—see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 147, 155.

[31] A member of the military elite, probably from the Barlas tribe. Since the above-mentioned *qanāts* appear to have been located quite close to each other, their water must have flowed together into one or more channels, a situation that was not at all unusual—see Lambton, "Qanāts of Yazd," 27.

(*daima zirāʿat*) by a consortium (*jamʿī*).[32] Its northern [boundary] abuts the heights of dead lands (*pushtahā-yi mavāt*) that have no owner and that are dry-farmed land (*daima-zār*). Its southern [boundary] abuts the land of Mīrak b. ʿAbdullāh Tājir (i.e., the merchant).

The province of Jām

No. 142. The entirety [12] of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*) known as Bun-i raz (?) located in the province (*vilāyat*) of Jām in the district (*bulūk*) of Zūrābād.[33] Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands and the heights of dead lands (*pushtahā-yi mavāt*) that have no owner. Thus also its western and southern [boundaries]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Gūsha-i lāghar,[34] which belongs to the estate (*matrūka*) of His Excellency, the Repository of amirship, the Seat of guidance, [13] Exemplar of the commanders of the world, the late Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlīshīr, son of the late Great *amīr*, the Model of commanders among men, Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Kichkina, son of the late Great *amīr*, Amīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣādir.[35]

The province of Sarakhs and Ṭizhin (Tejen)

No. 143–1. The entirety of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*) consisting of a feeder canal (*jūybār*)[36] [14] called Aḥmadābād located between Sarakhs and Ṭizhin (Tejen), in one of the dependencies (*tavābiʿ*) of Ṭizhin.[37] Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the village (*mauẓiʿ*) called Kūkar Jangal (?), [in] which [there] is a well (*chāh*), the restricted perimeter (*ḥarīm*)[38]

[32] In this case, *jamʿī* may refer to a village community, for which see Jürgen Paul, "Le village en Asie centrale aux XV[e] et XVI[e] siècles," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 32, no. 1 (1991): 9–15; or it may simply be a group of local individuals—compare line 9.

[33] For Zūrābād, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:36; and Pāpulī-Yazdī, *Farhang*, 293 (who notes that it is now a ruin).

[34] Apparently still in existence under the name of Gūsh-i lāghar—see Pāpulī-Yazdī, *Farhang*, 499.

[35] The famous Mīr ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, whose filiation includes the name of his paternal grandfather. For his maternal grandfather Bū Saʿīd Chang, see Subtelny, "'Alī Shīr Navāʾī," 799.

[36] For the terms *jūybār* and *jūy*, see chap. 4, p. 122.

[37] For Sarakhs, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:54, 2:188; for Tejen, which was known for its numerous canals, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:64, 2:241.

[38] The term *ḥarīm* refers to the strip or border of land along an irrigation canal or around the perimeter of a well, etc., the width of which was prescribed by Islamic law (depending on the type of canal, its location, etc.), and access to which (including the right to build on it) was restricted. For an extensive discussion of *ḥarīm*, see al-Karajī, *Istikhrāj-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 42–51. For its use in juridical literature, see Aghnides, *Islamic Theories of Finance*, 506; and al-Mudarris, *Mashāyikh Balkh* 2:727 (in chap. 32, "Questions concerning water and irrigation canals"). Chekhovich translates it as "restricted belt/zone"—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 381; while Lambton renders the term simply as "borders"—see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 199.

of which is dead plain (*ṣaḥrā-yi mavāt*) having no owner, and partly the village (*mauẓiʿ*) [called] Mālīn Ṣufūf (?), [in] which [there] is also a well, [15] the restricted perimeter of which is dead plain having no owner. Its western [boundary] abuts the common-use river (*rūd-i ʿāmm*) of Jughjarān, which flows beside the Ṭizhin and which is known as Kāl-i Ṭizhin.[39] Its northern [boundary] abuts dead lands (*zamīn-i mavāt*) having no owner. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts the plain (*ṣaḥrā*) of Gazistān,[40] [16] which is dead land having no owner, and partly the village (*mauẓiʿ*) of Chahār Aghil,[41] [in] which [there] is a well, the restricted perimeter of which is dead plain having no owner.

No. 144–2. The entirety of an indivisible (*shāyiʿ-i kāmil*)[42] one-quarter (*rubʿ*) of the entirety of the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) located in the province (*vilāyat*) of Sarakhs, known as the *mazraʿa* of Qanlanjird (?), whose water source (*manbaʾ*) is the common-use river (*rūd-i ʿāmm*) of Jughjarān, [17] with the exception of the rights (*raqaba*)[43] to a mill (*ṭāḥūna*) which will be described separately.[44] Its eastern [boundary] abuts the Nauqāba[45] of Sarakhs, which is a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*).[46] Its western [boundary] partly abuts the common-use river (*rūd-i ʿāmm*) of Jughjarān, and partly dead lands (*zamīn-i mavāt*) having no owner. Its northern [boundary] abuts the lands of the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Qatmājān (?),

[39] The term *kāl* means a seasonal river.

[40] I.e., a stand of tamarisks—see Ḥabībullāh Sābitī, *Dirakhtān va dirakhtchahā-yi Īrān* (Tehran, 1344/1966), 364.

[41] The term *aghil* denotes a sheepfold, see Abel Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc-oriental* (Paris, 1870), 26; and L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechii*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1869–71), 1:64.

[42] For the term *shāyiʿ*, see n. 26 above.

[43] For the term, *raqaba*, meaning the substance of a property as opposed to its usufruct, see Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 134; and Max Van Berchem, "La propriété territoriale et l'impot foncier sous les premiers califes: Étude sur l'impot du kharâg" (PhD diss., University of Leipzig, 1886), 32 n. 1.

[44] For the term *ṭāḥūna*, which was used for the mills of Herat, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, 155.

[45] This may be a technical term, rather than a toponym, although its meaning is unclear. It may be related to *naqb* (pl. *nuqūb*), meaning a subterranean water channel or a well—see al-Karajī, *Istikhrāj-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 57.

[46] The term *nahr* denotes a feeder canal—see McChesney, *Waqf*, 22; and chap. 4, p. 122 above.

which is an ancient, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) [18] for the *khānaqāh* of Maʿdābād in Jām.[47] Its southern [boundary] abuts the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of Sarakhs.

No. 145–3. The entirety of one and a half indivisible shares (*sahm*) out of a total of four indivisible shares in a functioning water-powered mill (*ṭāḥūna*),[48] consisting of stone, iron, and wooden implements (*ālāt*), located in the aforementioned hamlet. [19] Its eastern [boundary] abuts partly the restricted border (*ḥarīm*) of the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) of the common-use canal.[49] Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts lands, of which an indivisible (*shāyiʿ*) part is the private property (*milk*) of His Exalted Honour, the Refuge of amirship, who is characterized by justice, Sultan of *amīr*s in the world, the one who engages in his service [both] men of the sword and wielders of the pen, Amīr Shujāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of His Honour, [20] the Refuge of the kingdom, the late Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, the son of His Honour, the Repository of amirship, the Glory of *amīr*s in the world, the late Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Burunduq Barlas. Its southern [boundary] is the same.

No. 146–4. The entirety of a hamlet (*mazraʿa*) located in the province of Sarakhs and called Bālāna, [21] whose water source (*manbaʾ*) is the Nauqāba of the aforementioned province. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the public passageway (*mamarr-i ʿāmm*) known as Khvāja Zūr way (*rāh*). Its western [boundary] partly abuts the restricted border of the Nauqāba, which is a common-use feeder canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly the land of the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Davāzdah Jarīb,[50] which is held by (*bi-taṣarruf*) the virtuous woman Ṣāliḥa Ṣāḥib-Sulṭān, the daughter of Amīr ʿAbd al-Qādir b. [22] Amīr Luqmān.[51] Its northern

[47] Maʿdābād is listed as one of the dependencies of Jām—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:36.

[48] *Dāyir bar āb*, meaning powered by an undershot water wheel.

[49] Chekhovich translates the term *baṭn* as "river-bed"—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 336, line 327. But it appears to denote the midsection of a river, since in all instances in this document it is used in connection with mills of the undershot type, which would have extended into the middle of the water channel. See also McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 210, line 39. For the occurrence of the term in juridical literature, see al-Mudarris, *Mashāyikh Balkh* 2:727.

[50] Or perhaps the unit of measure is intended here, i.e., measuring twelve *jarīb*.

[51] The term *taṣarruf* does not denote ownership of land, but simply "possession," in the sense that the individual has the right of usufruct or disposal of it for a specified period of time. The phrase *bi-taṣarruf* is sometimes used together, and synonymously, with the phrase *dar dast* (lit., in the hands of), for which see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 191. In Mukminova's opinion, these were usually state or *vaqf* lands that were

[boundary] partly abuts the land of the aforementioned hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Davāzdah Jarīb and partly land [measuring] four *paikāl*, which is held by Khvāja Qanbar ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh Rangraz (i.e., the dyer).[52] Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the Milḥāb canal, which is a common-use [canal].

The province of Balkh

The entirety of the [following] properties whose boundaries have been delineated (*maḥdūdāt*),[53] and which are located in the province (*vilāyat*) [23] of Balkh [known as] the Cupola of Islam:[54]

No. 147–1. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*)[55] of a plot of garden estimated at six *jarīb* in the village (*mauẓiʿ*) of Qanlāy (?).[56] Its eastern [boundary] abuts an old [quadripartite] garden (*chahārbāgh*) which belongs to the estate (*matrūka*) of Maulānā Khvāja Kalān Gurinjkūb (i.e., the rice pounder) b[in]…. Its western [boundary] abuts the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of Tīkina (?) b. ʿAbdullāh Balkhī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of [24] Chīchaktū. Its southern [boundary] abuts lands which are held by a consortium (*jamʿī*), one of whose [members] is the aforementioned Tīkina (?).

No. 148–2. The standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a functioning and productive water-powered mill (*ṭāḥūna*) located in the aforementioned village (*mauẓiʿ*), consisting of iron, stone, and wooden equipment and implements (*ālāt va adavāt*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts partly the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) [of the canal]. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its

held by individuals under a rental contract or lease arrangement (*ijārat*), and then subleased to share-cropping peasants—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 49–50 (where she also cites examples from the sixteenth-century Jūybārī documents, for which see *Iz arkhiva sheikhov Dzhuibari*, nos. 110, 210, 222, etc.). All subsequent references to this term in the deed are translated as "held by."

[52] For the term *paikāl*, see A. B. Vil'danova and O. D. Chekhovich, "Ob obshchinnom vodo-zemlepol'zovanii, oboznachaemom terminom *paikāl*," *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1965, no. 1:110–12; also McChesney, *Waqf*, 280–81. Chahār paikāl may also be a toponym.

[53] The term *maḥdūd* denotes a property whose boundaries have been described on all four sides.

[54] *Qubbat al-Islām* was the epithet of Balkh. For the province of Balkh, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:50–53.

[55] For this term, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 340, 371; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 445; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 202, line 1.

[56] For the *jarīb*, which was roughly equivalent to 0.625 acres, see chap. 5, p. 169.

northern [boundary] [25] abuts the restricted border of the canal (*nahr*) of Siyāhjird which is [a] common-use [canal].[57]

No. 149–3. An indivisible half (*niṣf*) of the entire mill (*ṭāḥūna*) in the aforementioned village of Qanlāy (?), which is functioning, productive, and [water-] powered, and consists of equipment and implements (*ālāt va adavāt*). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) [of the canal]. Thus also its southern [boundary]. Its western [boundary] abuts [26] the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of Siyāhjird. Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands (*arāżī*) which are held by a consortium (*jamʿī*), one of whose [members] is Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain ʿAlī.

No. 150–4. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a functioning and productive mill (*ṭāḥūna*), which is in the village (*maużiʿ*) of Baba Gavazm (?) and which consists of iron, stone, and other [kinds of] equipment and implements (*ālāt va adavāt*). Its eastern [boundary] [27] partly abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) [of the canal]. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts lands (*arāżī*) which are ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Thus also its southern [boundary].

No. 151–5. The entirety of a residence (*sarāy*) outside the ʿIrāb (?) Gate (*darb*) in the Chaqar-i Amīr Mūsā [quarter],[58] together with an adjoining garden (*bāghcha*). Their eastern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Maulānā ʿAlī Ṭabīb (i.e., the physician) Balkhī. [28] Their western [boundary] abuts the house of Khvāja Badr al-Dīn b. Khvāja Muḥammad Sabzavārī. Their northern [boundary] abuts the ʿIdgāh,[59] which is an ancient, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Muslim community (*bar ʿāmma-i Muslimīn*). Their southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).[60]

No. 152–6. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a plot of orchard-garden (*yak qiṭʿa bāgh*) and an adjoining garden (*bāghcha*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which [29] belong to an ancient, legally binding,

[57] No southern boundary is indicated.

[58] For this toponym, which is referred to as a quarter (*kūy*) in a sixteenth-century deed of endowment, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 204. The Mongolian term, *chaqar*, originally referred to the place outside the citadel where artisans and others who served the royal family lived—see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:307–8.

[59] I.e., public place where festivals were held.

[60] For the terms *kū(y)* and *kūcha*, see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 11:16478; and Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 377 n. 2.

irrevocable endowment in the Khiyābān [district] of the city of Balkh. Their eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Their western [boundary] partly abuts the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of Sayyidī Aḥmad Rangraz (i.e., the dyer) al-Balkhī, and partly the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of Daulatkhvāja b. ʿAbdullāh Bukāvul (i.e., the steward) Balkhī.[61] Their northern [boundary] abuts a [formal] garden (*chahārbāgh*) which [30] is an ancient and well-known, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*). Their southern [boundary] partly abuts the garden (*bāghcha*) of His Excellency, the Repository of accomplishments, Maulānā Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and partly the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of the aforementioned Daulatkhvāja, and partly a public lane (*kūcha-i ʿāmma*). [Also included is] a shop (*dukkān*) with a wooden [roof] (*chūb-pūsh*), which abuts a public lane (*kūcha-i ʿāmm*) on the east; [31]...on the west; and a cemetery [located on] high [ground] (*gūristān-i arfaʿ*) on the north and south.[62]

The village of Tīzān

The entirety of the [following] properties (*maḥdūdāt*) which are located in the suburbs (*savād*) of the city (*balda*) of Herat,[63] in the village (*qarya*) of Tīzān in the district (*bulūk*) of Udvān-Tīzān:[64]

No. 153–1.[65] [32] Three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at ten *jarīb*, located in the village (*qarya*) of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*raz*) belonging to the estate (*tarika*) of ʿAlī b. Ḥasan Tīzānī, and partly a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*)[66] [33] [belonging to] the endowment (*vaqf*) of the *madrasa* of the village of Tīzān, whose donor was Ḥājjī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḥalvāgar (i.e., the *ḥalva* maker), and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja Dāʾud b. Khusrau b. Dāʾud Bazzāz (i.e., the dry goods dealer). Its northern [boundary]

[61] It is unlikely that he was the Royal taster, *bökävül*.

[62] Cemeteries and graveyards were usually located on hilltops or hillsides—see Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 98. For an explicit reference to this in a deed of endowment, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 207, line 23.

[63] The original meaning of the term *savād* is rural region or hinterland, but in this context it is to be understood as *extra muros*, the area outside the city proper, and synonymous with such terms as *bīrūn*, *dar ẓahr*, etc.

[64] For the village and the district of Herat, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:28, 2:132.

[65] The properties in this section are actually numbered from 1 to 17, but one item has obviously been omitted from the sequence.

[66] The Arabic term *karm* and Persian *raz* appear to be used interchangeably.

northern [boundary] [25] abuts the restricted border of the canal (*nahr*) of Siyāhjird which is [a] common-use [canal].[57]

No. 149–3. An indivisible half (*niṣf*) of the entire mill (*ṭāḥūna*) in the aforementioned village of Qanlāy (?), which is functioning, productive, and [water-] powered, and consists of equipment and implements (*ālāt va adavāt*). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) [of the canal]. Thus also its southern [boundary]. Its western [boundary] abuts [26] the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of Siyāhjird. Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands (*arāżī*) which are held by a consortium (*jamʿī*), one of whose [members] is Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain ʿAlī.

No. 150–4. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a functioning and productive mill (*ṭāḥūna*), which is in the village (*maużiʿ*) of Baba Gavazm (?) and which consists of iron, stone, and other [kinds of] equipment and implements (*ālāt va adavāt*). Its eastern [boundary] [27] partly abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly the middle (*baṭn*) [of the canal]. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts lands (*arāżī*) which are ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Thus also its southern [boundary].

No. 151–5. The entirety of a residence (*sarāy*) outside the ʿIrāb (?) Gate (*darb*) in the Chaqar-i Amīr Mūsā [quarter],[58] together with an adjoining garden (*bāghcha*). Their eastern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Maulānā ʿAlī Ṭabīb (i.e., the physician) Balkhī. [28] Their western [boundary] abuts the house of Khvāja Badr al-Dīn b. Khvāja Muḥammad Sabzavārī. Their northern [boundary] abuts the ʿĪdgāh,[59] which is an ancient, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Muslim community (*bar ʿāmma-i Muslimīn*). Their southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).[60]

No. 152–6. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a plot of orchard-garden (*yak qiṭʿa bāgh*) and an adjoining garden (*bāghcha*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which [29] belong to an ancient, legally binding,

[57] No southern boundary is indicated.

[58] For this toponym, which is referred to as a quarter (*kūy*) in a sixteenth-century deed of endowment, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 204. The Mongolian term, *chaqar*, originally referred to the place outside the citadel where artisans and others who served the royal family lived—see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 1:307–8.

[59] I.e., public place where festivals were held.

[60] For the terms *kū(y)* and *kūcha*, see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 11:16478; and Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 377 n. 2.

irrevocable endowment in the Khiyābān [district] of the city of Balkh. Their eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Their western [boundary] partly abuts the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of Sayyidī Aḥmad Rangraz (i.e., the dyer) al-Balkhī, and partly the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of Daulatkhvāja b. ʿAbdullāh Bukāvul (i.e., the steward) Balkhī.[61] Their northern [boundary] abuts a [formal] garden (*chahārbāgh*) which [30] is an ancient and well-known, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*). Their southern [boundary] partly abuts the garden (*bāghcha*) of His Excellency, the Repository of accomplishments, Maulānā Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and partly the orchard-garden (*bāgh*) of the aforementioned Daulatkhvāja, and partly a public lane (*kūcha-i ʿāmma*). [Also included is] a shop (*dukkān*) with a wooden [roof] (*chūb-pūsh*), which abuts a public lane (*kūcha-i ʿāmm*) on the east; [31] . . . on the west; and a cemetery [located on] high [ground] (*gūristān-i arfaʿ*) on the north and south.[62]

The village of Tīzān

The entirety of the [following] properties (*maḥdūdāt*) which are located in the suburbs (*savād*) of the city (*balda*) of Herat,[63] in the village (*qarya*) of Tīzān in the district (*bulūk*) of Udvān-Tīzān:[64]

No. 153–1.[65] [32] Three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at ten *jarīb*, located in the village (*qarya*) of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*raz*) belonging to the estate (*tarika*) of ʿAlī b. Ḥasan Tīzānī, and partly a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*)[66] [33] [belonging to] the endowment (*vaqf*) of the *madrasa* of the village of Tīzān, whose donor was Ḥājjī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḥalvāgar (i.e., the *ḥalva* maker), and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja Dāʾud b. Khusrau b. Dāʾud Bazzāz (i.e., the dry goods dealer). Its northern [boundary]

[61] It is unlikely that he was the Royal taster, *bökāvül*.

[62] Cemeteries and graveyards were usually located on hilltops or hillsides—see Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 98. For an explicit reference to this in a deed of endowment, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 207, line 23.

[63] The original meaning of the term *savād* is rural region or hinterland, but in this context it is to be understood as *extra muros*, the area outside the city proper, and synonymous with such terms as *bīrūn*, *dar ẓahr*, etc.

[64] For the village and the district of Herat, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:28, 2:132.

[65] The properties in this section are actually numbered from 1 to 17, but one item has obviously been omitted from the sequence.

[66] The Arabic term *karm* and Persian *raz* appear to be used interchangeably.

partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly a vineyard (*karm*) [belonging] to the endowment (*vaqf*) of the aforementioned *madrasa* [34] which was established by the aforementioned Ḥājjī Ḥasan. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts land (*zamīn*) whose borders will be delineated (*maḥdūd*) forthwith, and partly a vineyard (*karm*), an indivisible part of which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor (*ḥażrat-i vāqifa-i maẕkūra*) (i.e., Afaq Begim), [35] and partly a vineyard [belonging to] the endowment (*vaqf*) of the aforementioned *madrasa* which was established by Khvāja Muḥammad b. Khāliṣ Tīzānī.

No. 154–2. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) of four *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*), an indivisible part of which [36] is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the property (*maḥdūd*) which has [already] been delineated. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*karm*) that is one of the properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*),[67] which are [part of] the estate (*tarika*) of His Majesty, the late Sultan and felicitous Khaqan, [37] Sultan Shāhrukh,[68] and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd.

No. 155–3. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a flourishing vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb* in the village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. [38] ʿAbdullāh Sakhtkamān. Its western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Muḥammad b. Bāyazīd Isfizārī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) of Khvāja ʿAlī b. Naqīb Maḥmūd Sīstānī. Its southern [boundary] is the same as its eastern [boundary].

No. 156–4. [39] The entirety of three indivisible shares in common out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at one *jarīb* and five and a half *dāng* of a *jarīb*,[69] in the village of Tīzān, in the region (*navāḥī*) of Herat, in the district (*bulūk*) of Udvān-Tīzān. Its eastern boundary (*ḥadd*) abuts the residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) of Maulāna ʿUmar b. Ramażān Tīzānī. Its western [boundary] partly

[67] The term *khāṣṣa* denoted the privy purse, that is, the private property of the ruler. In this document, properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) are clearly distinguised from *khāliṣa* lands—see for example, lines 85–86 below.

[68] *Khāqān-i saʿīd* was the honorific title of Shāhrukh.

[69] For the term *dāng*, see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 448.

abuts the land (*zamīn*) [40] and the wine-press (*kārushk-khāna*)[70] of the aforementioned Maulāna ʿUmar, and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of Maulānā Muḥammad b. Maulānā Faṣīḥ Tīzānī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Maulānā Maḥmūd Ibn Kirmānshāh b. Maḥmūd Tīzānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 157–5. [41] The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at one *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Sultan Shāhrukh).[71] Its western and southern [boundaries] abut a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts [42] the vineyard (*raz*) of Khvāja Muḥammad b. Khvāja ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh Talābī.

No. 158–6. Three indivisible shares out of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at four *jarīb* and one *dāng* of a *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] partly abuts [43] the vineyard (*raz*) of Shaikh Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, and partly the vineyard (*raz*) of Abū Saʿīd b. Bāyazīd Kārzī (?). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) of Shāh Muḥammad b. Khvāja ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khvāja Maḥmūd Tīzānī, and partly the vineyard (*raz*) of Abū Saʿīd Ibn Bāyazīd Kārzī (?), and partly [44] the vineyard (*raz*) of ʿUmar b. ʿIvaż Tīzānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of Mīr Muḥammad-ʿAlī, known as Khaldar Bakhshi, the son of Mīr Sulṭān Bakhshi.

No. 159–6a. The entirety of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at fifty *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*) of Rav (?). Its western [boundary] [45] abuts the drainage canal (*zahkash*)[72] of dead lands (*mavāt*) which have no owner. Its northern [boundary] abuts land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for visitors (*zuvvār*) to the tomb shrine (*mazār*) of Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn ʿUmar

[70] For the term, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 57 n. 1 (where the editor explains that it is "an enclosure in which must is pressed from grapes"); and Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 5:7113, s.v. *charkhusht*; 5:7108, s.v. *charkh*.

[71] Specifically, a vineyard—see lines 36–37 above.

[72] From *zaghārkash*, for which see Chekhovich, "Materialy po terminologii," 69; also Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 177; and Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 219 n. 26.

in the Khiyābān [district] of Herat, which was established by Khvāja Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Qutluq Shāh. Its southern [boundary] abuts the land of Darvīsh Muḥammad b. [46] Yūsuf b. Muḥammad.

No. 160–7. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) [measuring] eight *jarīb* and four *dāng* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts land which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned village [47]—known as the mosque of Maulānā Yaḥyā—and which is held by Maulānā Futūḥ b. Maulānā Yaḥyā Tīzānī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the land of Mīrak b. Mīr Ḥājjī Tīzānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a canal (*jūy*) [which is] a pious endowment (*vaqf*) for the aforementioned mosque.

No. 161–8. [48] The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at two and a half *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the residence (*sarā*) of Khvāja Ḥājjī Muḥammad b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. Shaikh Muḥammad Tīzānī, and partly a vineyard (*karm*), which is an ancient and well-known, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) and which is held by the aforementioned Mīrak, [49] and partly a vineyard (*raz*) which is held by Khvāja Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ʿIvaż. Its southern [boundary] abuts the new vineyard (*karm*) of Abū Bakr-Muḥammad b. Khvurd b. ʿAlī-Saʿīd.

No. 162–9. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) located in the aforementioned village of Tīzān, [measuring] seven *jarīb*. [50] Its eastern [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*mamarr*) to the land of Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tīzānī. Its western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of Khvāja Qutluq Shāh b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. Its northern [boundary] is partly like the western, and partly abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of Darvīsh Muḥammad b. Khvāja Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Qutluq Shāh. [51] Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a public passageway (*mamarr-i ʿāmm*), and partly is like the western [boundary], and partly [abuts] the compound (*chahārdīvār*) of Khvāja ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Khvāja Shaikh Aḥmad b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. Qutluq Shāh.

No. 163–10. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a property (*maḥdūd*) in the aforementioned village, estimated at six *jarīb*, [52] five *jarīb* of which are vineyard (*raz*) and the rest land (*zamīn*). Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*raz*) which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the quarter (*maḥalla*) of Muḥammad b. Bāyazīd Nārī, and which is held by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Tāyabādī, and partly a vineyard (*raz*) which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the Chahārshanbaʾī mosque[73] in the aforementioned quarter (*maḥalla*) of Muḥammad b. Bāyazīd. [53] Its western and southern [boundaries] abut a public street (*kūy-i ʿamm*). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*karm*) belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of the Chosen one (*murtażā*) of the lands of Islam, the Chief of the noble marshals [of sayyids], Sayyid Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh b. Sayyid Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Vāʿiẓ (i.e., the preacher),[74] and partly a vineyard (*karm*) which is held by [54] Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor.

No. 164–11. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) [measuring] one *jarīb* and a *dāng* and a half of a *jarīb*, located in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*raz*) which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned village and which is held by Maulānā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. [55] Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Tīzānī. Its western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Amīr Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Amīr Sulṭān Bakhshi. Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of Muḥammad b. Mīrak Mīr Hazār (i.e., the chiliarch).[75] Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 165–12. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) [56] estimated at eight *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which belong to a well-known ancient irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*), and partly the land of Amīr Isfandiyār Tarkhan. Its western [boundary] abuts land which is state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Its northern [boundary] abuts land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque [57] of the Qipchaq quarter (*maḥalla*), and which is held by Quṭb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn. Its southern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*raz*) and land belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Tīzānī.

[73] This mosque may have been connected with the shrine of Amīr Chahārshanba mentioned below (line 87), or perhaps with the Timurid *vazīr* Amīr Sulṭān-Aḥmad Chahārshanbaʾī, for whom see Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:146.

[74] The author of *Maqṣad al-iqbāl-i sulṭāniyya va marṣad al-āmāl-i khāqāniyya*, the popular guide to the shrines of Herat, for whom see chap. 6, p. 195.

[75] He appears to have held this military rank.

No. 166–13. Three indivisible shares out of the entirety of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at four *jarīb* in the village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts [58] the land of Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Sayyid. Its western [boundary] is partly like the eastern [boundary], and partly it abuts the vineyard (*karm*) which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of Maulānā Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn, which is held by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar. Its northern [boundary] is like the eastern.

No. 167–14. [59] The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at two *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of the aforementioned Abū Bakr. Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of Ḥājjī Ibn Muḥammad b. Shaikh Muḥammad. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 168–15. [60] The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a well-maintained and flourishing vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb* and four *dāng* of a *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the land of Maulānā ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maulānā Shaikh Muḥammad Faẓlullāh. Its western [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh [61] Tīzānī, and partly the land of Maulānā Faẓlullāh b. Maulānā Maḥmūd Tīzānī. Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh Sakhtkamān, and partly land belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of Khvāja Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr. Its southern [boundary] abuts land [62] which is held by Maulānā Pīr ʿAlī b. Khvāja Ḥasan Kūka (?).

No. 169–16. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb* and one *dāng* of a *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh Bākharzī. [63] Its western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿUmar b. Ramāżān Isfarāyinī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] partly abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of the aforementioned ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh, and partly the residence (*sarāy*) of Muhammad b. Aḥmad Yazdūnī (?).

No. 170–17. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at [64] a total of three *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja Dāʾud b. Khvāja Khusrau Bazzāz,

and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of the aforementioned Qutluq Shāh. Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is an ancient, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of Maulāna Muḥammad. [65] Its southern [boundary] abuts the access (*mamarr*) to the vineyard (*karm*) of the aforementioned Khvāja Dāʾud.

No. 171–18. Three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts land (*zamīn*) which is one of the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Sultan Shāhrukh).[76] Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is held by [66] Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its southern [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*maftaḥ*) [to it].[77]

No. 172–19. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) of approximately nine *jarīb*. Its eastern boundary partly abuts the land of Khvāja Yūsuf b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. ʿIvaż Sūrī (?), and partly the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). [67] Its northern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 173–20. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) of approximately six *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the land of Maḥmūd b. Kirmānshāh Maḥmūd, and partly the land of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ibn Darvīsh Tīzānī. Its western [68] [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts land which is an ancient, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mausoleum (*junbad*)[78] of the Qāżī.[79] Its southern [boundary] abuts land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned village of Tīzān.

No. 174–21. The entirety of three indivisible shares [69] out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at seven *jarīb* in

[76] See lines 36–37 above.

[77] There does not appear to be any difference between the two Arabic formulae *va minhu al-maftaḥ* and *va minhu al-madkhal*, both of which denote an entrance or access point. For *madkhal*, see line 87; also McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 207, line 25.

[78] I.e., *gunbad*.

[79] Possibly the mausoleum of ʿAbdullāh b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbdullāh b. Jaʿfar Ṭayyār, one of the major shrines of Herat. See Allen, *Catalogue*, no. 562; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:312.

the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Ḥājjī Muḥammad b. Shaikh Ghūrī, and partly land which is an ancient, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned village, and which is held by the aforementioned Ḥājjī Muḥammad. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 175–22. [70] Three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at seven *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the land of Khvāja Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ʿIvaż Sūrī (?), and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Shaikh b. Maḥmūd Shāh. Its western [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*raz*) of the aforementioned Khvāja [71] Qutluq Shāh, and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAbd al-ʿAliyy b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad. Its northern [boundary] is the same as the first part of the western [boundary]. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khusrau, and partly the vineyard (*karm*) belonging to the estate (*tarika*) of Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Mirʾāt (?).

No. 176–23. [72] Three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb* and five *dāng* of a *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the vineyard [belonging to] the endowment (*vaqf*) of the Chahārshanbaʾī mosque [located] inside the city (*shahr*) of Herat. Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Shāh Muḥammad b. [73] ʿAbdullāh Sīrābī. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*mamarr*) to the residence (*sarāy*) of Maulānā Bāyazīd b. Ḥājjī Sīrābī.

No. 177–24. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at three *jarīb* and two and a half *dāng* of a *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts [74] a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of the aforementioned Khvāja Dāʾud, and partly the restricted border of the weir (*nahrband*)[80] belonging to the aforementioned Khvāja Dāʾud. Its northern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of the aforementioned Amīr Muḥammad ʿAlī, known as Khaldar Bakhshi, and partly the aforementioned vineyard (*karm*)

[80] For the term *band*, meaning checkdam or weir, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ābyārī" (by B. Spooner), 407.

which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned village, known as the mosque of Ḥāfiẓ Shams Tīzānī. [75] Its southern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*raz*) [which belongs to] the endowment (*vaqf*) of the mosque of the Qipchaq quarter (*maḥalla*), and which is held by Pīr ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd Kamānkash (i.e., the archer).

No. 178–25. Three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at a total of four *jarīb* in the aforementioned village of Tīzān. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Barātī (?). Its southern [boundary] [76] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Muḥammad b. Shaikh Muḥammad, and partly the garden (*bāghcha*) of Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Khvāja Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh Sakhtkamān.

No. 179–26. Three indivisible shares out of [a total of] four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at two *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. [77] Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of ʿIvaż Ibn ʿUmar b. ʿIvaż. Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Shāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tīzānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of the abovementioned ʿUmar b. ʿIvaż.

No. 180–27. Three indivisible shares out of [78] a total of four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) estimated at a total of four *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Tīzānī, and thus also its northern [boundary].

No. 181–28. Three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*raz*) estimated at two *jarīb* and four *dāng* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern, western, and northern [boundaries] abut [79] land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

No. 182–29. Three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a vineyard (*karm*) [measuring] one *jarīb* and four *dāng* in total in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Shādī b. Ustād Ḥājjī Ḥalvāgar (i.e., the *ḥalva* maker). Its western [boundary] abuts [80] a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Shāhrukh Sulṭān).[81] Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly the residence (*sarāy*) of Bibi Ṣafiyya, the daughter of Khusrau b. ʿAlī b. Khusrau.

[81] See lines 36–37, 65 above.

No. 183–30. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a plot of vineyard (*karm*) estimated at one *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. [81] Its northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Maulānā Pīr ʿAlī b. Khvāja Ḥasan Kūka (?). Its western [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a private-use canal (*jūy-i khāṣṣ*), which [provides] irrigation water (*shurb*)[82] for the properties (*amlāk*) [belonging to] a consortium (*jamʿī*), one of whose members is Maulāna ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Maulānā Muḥammad Tīzānī.

No. 184–31. [82] The entirety of three indivisible shares out of four shares in a plot of vineyard (*karm*) estimated at a total of two *jarīb* in the aforementioned village. Its eastern [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its western [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*maftaḥ*) [to it]. [83] Its northern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) belonging to the estate (*tarika*) of Abū Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Naqīb Sijistānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

The village of Marāghaz

The village (*qarya*) of Marāghaz in the district (*bulūk*) of Ālanjān in the suburbs (*savād*) of Herat.[83]

No. 185–1. The entirety of an indivisible one-half of two plots of [84] land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) abutting each other, [one] estimated at sixteen *jarīb*, and the other at nine *jarīb*. Their eastern [boundary] partly abuts the land of His Honour, Refuge of the state, the Exalted, the Eminent, the Great lord and Chief of lords, Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Qāsim b. Khvāja ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Farankhvudī, and partly [85] land [which is] state land (*khāliṣa*) and which [has been assigned] as a revenue grant (*tiyul*) to Shaikh Aḥmad Qushchi. Their western [boundary] abuts properties (*amlāk*) which constitute a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* of Khvāja Ismāʿīl Ḥiṣārī, located

[82] The explanation for the term *shurb* as "its water" has been added above the word. For the term *shurb*, see A. K. Arends, A. B. Khalidov, and O. D. Chekhovich, eds. and trans., *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 54, line 133; and Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov*, 188.

[83] For the village and the district of Herat, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:25, 2:107.

within the city (*balda*) of Herat, for which he had established a pious endowment, and partly [it abuts] [86] the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Shāhrukh Sulṭān).[84] Their northern [boundary] abuts properties (*amlāk*) which constitute a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for visitors (*zuvvār*) to the tomb shrine (*mazār*) of Gauharnasab Agha. Their southern [boundary] partly abuts properties (*amlāk*) which are a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* of the late Exalted Cradle,[85] Gauharshād Agha, and partly [87] a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*madkhal*) [to them].

No. 186–2. The entirety of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at ten *jarīb* in the same village of Marāghaz. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of Marāghaz. Its western [boundary] abuts properties (*amlāk*) which are a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for visitors (*zuvvār*) to the shrine (*mazār*) of Amīr Chahārshanba.[86] [88] Its northern [boundary] partly abuts properties (*amlāk*) which are a well-known, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of Maulānā Ṣadr Ḥusām al-Dīn (?), and partly land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] partly abuts properties (*amlāk*) which are a well-known, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for visitors (*zuvvār*) to the tomb shrine (*mazār*) of Durr Sulṭān Agha, and partly [89] the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja Shaikh Ibrāhīm b. Khvāja ʿAṭaʾullāh al-Farankhvudī.

No. 187–3. The entirety of one-half of a plot of orchard-garden (*qiṭʿa bāgh*) and land estimated at a total of twenty-five *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the land of Khvāja Aḥmad b. ʿAlīshāh Ätäkä, and partly land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*), and partly[87] it abuts [90] land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*), known as the endowment of Gauharnasab Agha. Its western [boundary] partly abuts land (*zamīn*) that is one of the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i*

[84] See lines 36–37, 65 above.

[85] This honorific title *mahd-i ʿaliyya* (sometimes also *mahd-i ʿulyā*) was always conferred on royal women. See line 124 below.

[86] For this shrine, which is referred to as the shrine of Khvāja Chahārshamba, see Saljūqī, *Mazārāt-i Harāt*, 55; and Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh, *Maqṣad al-iqbāl*, ed. Haravī, 52.

[87] Or read here: its northern [boundary].

sharīfa) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Sultan Shāhrukh),[88] and partly land which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* of the aforementioned Khvāja Ismāʿīl. [91] Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a cul-de-sac passageway (*mamarr-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*mamarr*) to an orchard-garden (*bāgh*) which was held by Mīr Sulṭān ʿAlī [b.] Mīr Khiżr Chaugānjī (i.e., the polo player).

No. 188–4. The entirety of three adjoining plots (*qiṭʿa*), the lines of demarcation (*fāṣila*) [between them being] their walls (*judrān*), estimated at a total of ten *jarīb* and four *dāng* of a *jarīb*, in the aforementioned village of Marāghaz. Their eastern [boundary] [92] partly abuts land belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of Amīr ʿUbaidullāh b. Amīr Shāfiʿ b. Amīr Nuʿmān, and partly land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* of His late Majesty, the felicitous Khaqan, Sultan Shāhrukh, May his tomb be illumined, which he had established. Its western [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly [93] the restricted border of the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) of the village (*qarya*) of Jughartān. Its northern [boundary] abuts properties (*amlāk*) which are a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for visitors (*zuvvār*) to the tomb shrine of Gauharnasab Agha. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*), and partly land belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of the aforementioned Amīr ʿUbaidullāh.

The village of Talās

No. 189–1. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a functioning and productive mill (*ṭāḥūna*) which is located [94] in the rural area [surrounding] the city (*balda*) of Herat, in the village (*qarya*) of Talās, in the district (*bulūk*) of Gudāra.[89] Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the middle (*baṭn*) of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly its restricted border. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the old mosque of the aforementioned village, which is an endowment (*vaqf*) for all Muslims (*bar ʿāmma-i Muslimīn*). Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*).

[88] See lines 36–37 above.

[89] For the village and the district of Herat, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:24, 2:131.

No. 190–2. [95] The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a property (*maḥdūd*), consisting of sheds (*khānahā*) and a water-powered mill (*ṭāḥūna*) in [one of] them, located in the aforementioned village of Talās. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the middle (*baṭn*) of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly its restricted border. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), [96] and partly land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

The rights (*raqaba*) to both of these properties (*maḥdūd*) [belong to the category of] ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

The village of Mālān in the Gudāra district of Herat

The entirety of the [following] properties (*maḥdūdāt*), which are located in the suburbs (*savād*) of Herat, in the village (*qarya*) of [97] Mālān in the district (*bulūk*) of Gudāra:[90]

No. 191–1. The entirety of the rights (*raqaba*) to one *jarīb* of vineyard (*karm*) which is watered (*ābkhvur*)[91] by the canal (*nahr*) [fed by] the well (*qulb*)[92] of Talāba.[93] Its eastern [boundary] abuts land that is one of the aforementioned properties belonging to the royal privy purse (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) (i.e., which are part of the estate of the late Shāhrukh Sulṭān).[94] Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts [98] the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] is like its eastern [boundary].

No. 192–2. A plot of vineyard (*qiṭʿa karm*) [measuring] five *jarīb* and five *dāng* [and] consisting of a dovecot (*kabūtarkhān*),[95] which receives its irrigation water (*ābkhvur*) from the canal (*nahr*) of Talāba. Its western [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Amīr Khvurd b.

[90] For the village of Mālān, and the district of Herat, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:24, 2:105.

[91] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 381, where she also gives the (later) meaning of "an administrative division of land, connected with irrigation."

[92] For the term *qulb*, meaning a sluice-gate regulating the flow of water in an irrigation channel, see chap. 4, p. 138 above.

[93] For a reference to the *qulb* of Talāba, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 48.

[94] See lines 36–37 above.

[95] A variant form of *kabūtarkhāna*.

Khvāja Sharaf al-Dīn Mālānī, and partly the land of Muḥammad b. [99] Shihāb al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn. Its eastern [boundary] abuts land [which is] the private property (*milk*) of Zain al-Dīn b. Shaikh Abū Saʿīd b. Khvāja Muḥammad. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is a well-known ancient, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Qulb-i Bāzār mosque in the aforementioned village of Mālān, and partly [100] the land of Darvīsh Muḥammad b. Pahlavān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Mālānī.

No. 193–3. The entirety of the rights (*raqaba*) to three *jarīb* of a vineyard (*karm*) which receives its irrigation water (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Sarv.[96] Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Sarda (?) mosque in the village of Mālān. Its northern [boundary] [101] abuts land belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Amīr Sayyid Ḥasan b. Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Ziyāratgāhī. Its southern [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

No. 194–4. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four indivisible shares in a plot of vineyard (*qiṭʿa karm*) [102] estimated at one *jarīb* and five *dāng* [which] is watered (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Talāba. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the garden (*bāghcha*) of Maulānā Muḥammad b. Maulānā Shams Kirishgar (i.e., the bowstring maker).[97] Its western [boundary] abuts the land of Natīja, the daughter of Sārvān (i.e., the camel driver) Bahlūl b. Sipāhī. Its northern [boundary] abuts the land of Khvāja Muḥammad b. Shaikh [103] Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 195–5. The entirety of the rights (*raqaba*) to five *jarīb* of vineyard (*karm*) and two *jarīb* of land adjoining each other, which receive their irrigation water (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Sarv. Their eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of Khvāja Kalān b. Mīr Muḥammad b. Khvāja Tāj al-Dīn Mālānī. Their western [boundary] partly abuts a vineyard (*karm*) [104] which is held by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Kūshkī, and partly land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque which is located in the village of Mālān and known as the mosque of Sirāj

[96] For a reference, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Ṭarīq-i qismat-i āb*, 50.

[97] For the Turkish word *kirish*, meaning catgut, and its uses in bows and musical instruments, see Julius Theodor Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (repr. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), 745; and Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'* 2:123.

al-Dīn. Their northern [boundary] partly abuts land which is a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Sarda (?) mosque in the village of Mālān, [105] and partly the land of Mīr Dāʾud b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾud Mālānī. Their southern [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

No. 196–6. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a plot of vineyard (*qiṭʿa karm*) estimated at two and a half *jarīb*, which is watered (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Sarv. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). [106] Its western [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is held by Amīr Murād Bek b. Amīr Jahān-Malik b. Amīr Ḥamza-ʿAlī. Its northern [boundary] is like its eastern [boundary]. Its southern [boundary] is like its western [boundary].

No. 197–7. The entirety of the rights (*raqaba*) to a plot of vineyard (*qiṭʿa karm*) and a house adjoining each other [107] in the quarter (*maḥalla*) of Bāy Chinār. Their eastern [boundary] partly abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Maḥmūd b. [Maulānāʾī] Maulānā Mālānī, and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mālānī. Their western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja Shāh . . . Ḥaddād (i.e., the blacksmith). Their southern [boundary] partly abuts the land of Mīr Kūhī b. Khvāja Quṭb al-Dīn Mālānī, [108] and partly a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*madkhal*) [to them]. Their northern [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Shaikh ʿAbbās b. Shaikh Maḥmūd Mālānī.

No. 198–8. The entirety of three indivisible shares out of a total of four shares in a property (*maḥdūd*) estimated at three and a half *jarīb*, consisting of vines (*tākbunān*) and fruit-bearing and non-fruit bearing trees (*ashjār*), which receives its irrigation water (*ābkhvur*) from [109] the well (*qulb*) of Chinār, in the Bāy Chinār quarter (*maḥalla*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its northern [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly the land of Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Saif al-Dīn. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts land [which is] [110] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*), and partly a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*madkhal*) [to it].

The mill of Chargh Ulang

No. 199–1. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a mill house (*āsiyā-khāna*) in which there are three rotating mills (*āsiyā*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which are ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*), [located] in the suburbs (*savād*) of Herat, in the village (*mauẓiʿ*) of Chargh Ulang.[98] [They are] water-powered (*dāyir-i āb*) and have blades (*kārdbār*), and [111] consist of iron, stone, and wooden implements (*ālāt*). Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the middle (*baṭn*) of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly its restricted border, and partly land [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use feeder canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use feeder canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*).

No. 200–2. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of [112] a property (*maḥdūd*) consisting of two functioning and productive mills (*āsiyā*), in the aforementioned locality of Chargh Ulang. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the middle (*baṭn*) of a common-use feeder canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly its restricted border, and partly the new city wall (*shahrband-i jadīd*) which is ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).[99] [113] Its western [boundary] partly abuts the middle (*baṭn*) of the common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*), and partly its restricted border. Its northern and southern [boundaries] abut a meadow (*ulang*) [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

The Mīr ʿAlīka quarter

No. 201–1. The entirety of a property (*maḥdūd*) consisting of a villa (?) (*kūshk*), lofty pavilions (*ʿimārāt*), an audience hall (*dīvān-khāna*), a reservoir (*sar-ḥauẓ*),[100] and a pool (*ḥauẓ*), [114] together with a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*), estimated at three and a half *jarīb*, located in the suburbs (*savād*)

[98] For a reference to the village, see Allen, *Catalogue*, no. 407. For the description of a water-powered mill, see Johannes Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1959), 314ff. The term *āsiyā* appears to have been synonymous with *ṭāḥūna* (for which see line 17 above).

[99] The city walls of Herat were rebuilt in the time of Shāhrukh. See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ekṭār-al-Dīn" (by Maria E. Subtelny). Since they date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century, this would explain why they are referred to as "ancient state property."

[100] *Sar-ḥauẓ* is to be distinguished from *ḥauẓ*, the next item mentioned, in that it would have been much larger in size. The term occurs in the Jūybārī documents, and

of Herat, in the Amīr ʿAlīka Kökältash quarter (*maḥalla*).[101] Its eastern [boundary] abuts land which is held by Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Dūst Ibn Amīr Baba Dūst b. Amīr Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Abū al-Faẓl. Its western [boundary] partly abuts [115] the restricted border of the canal (*nahr*) of the mill (*ṭāḥūna*) of the aforementioned Amīr Shujāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Burunduq Barlas, and partly a public thoroughfare (*shāriʿ-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] is like its eastern [boundary]. Its southern [boundary] abuts land which is held by Dāna Beki Agha, the daughter of His Honour, Refuge of amirship, Amīr Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Shaikh Abū al-Faẓl [116] [b.] Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlīka Kökältash.

No. 202–2. The entirety of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at one and a half *jarīb* in the aforementioned quarter in the village of Ghūra va Darvāz. Its eastern, western, and northern [boundaries] abut a residential compound (*ḥavālī*)[102] which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. [117] Thus also its southern [boundary].

No. [202a–3].[103] The entirety of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*), estimated at one *jarīb*, in the aforementioned quarter. Its eastern and western [boundaries] abut a residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Thus also its southern [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts land belonging to the estate (*tarika*) [118] of Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlīka b. Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Amīr Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Abū al-Faẓl.

No. 203–4. The entirety of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*), the size of which is estimated at one *jarīb*, in the aforementioned quarter. Its eastern and southern [boundaries] abut a meadow (*ulang*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its western [boundary] abuts [119] a private street (*kūy-i khāṣṣ*), which provides access (*maftaḥ*) [to it].

No. 204–5. The entirety of a residence (*sarā*) with a garden (*bāghcha*) comprising trees, which is located in the aforementioned quarter. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the house of Berdi Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh Sirkafurūsh (i.e., the vinegar merchant), and partly the house

McChesney translates it as cistern, although there is no reason to believe that it was a covered structure—McChesney, "Observations on 'Garden'," 101.

[101] Located in the *bulūk* of Injīl, the central district of the Herat region, which was noted for its palatial residences and garden parks—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:25, 2:92.

[102] Also found in the forms *ḥavīlī* and *ḥaulī*—see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 205.

[103] This parcel was apparently omitted from the sequential numbering and for this reason has been numbered 202a.

of Darvīsh b. Pīr Muḥammad Dīvāna. [120] Its western [boundary] abuts a residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its northern [boundary] is like the western. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts the house of Khvāja Aḥmad b. Khvāja Valī Kushtīgīr (i.e., the wrestler), and partly the house of Khvāja Muḥammad Ḥallāb (i.e., the milkman).

No. 205–6. The entirety [121] of a plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at five *jarīb*, located in the aforementioned quarter. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts land which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, and partly land belonging to the estate (*tarika*) of Amīr Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn Shaikh Abū al-Faẓl Kökältash. Its western [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) [122] which provides access (*maftaḥ*) [to it]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the land of the aforementioned Amīr ʿAlīka. Its southern [boundary] abuts land, which is known as the land of Bāy Sarūk (?) and which is held by [Dāna] Beki Agha, the daughter of the aforementioned Amīr Ghiyaṯ al-Dīn Shaikh Abū al-Faẓl.

The city of Herat

No. 206–1. [123] The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a property (*maḥdūd*) consisting of pavilions (*ʿimārāt*), located in the city (*balda*) of Herat on the south side of the Bāgh-i Shahr,[104] the rights (*raqaba*) to which are ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts a residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, [124] and which will be described. Its northern [boundary] is the same. Its western [boundary] abuts the residential compound (*ḥavālī*) of Her Honour, Repository of virtue, Exalted Cradle, Paragon of women in all the worlds, Queen of royal ladies, Chastity of the world and the faith, Khanim Begim, the daughter of the great Sultan and noble Khaqan, the late [125] Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd Kürgän.[105] Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use catchment basin (*khāy*),[106] known as Khāy-i Mīr Varnā (?).

[104] For this royal garden residence, see Allen, *Catalogue*, 209.

[105] She is not mentioned in Woods, *Timurid Dynasty*, 39–40 (perhaps Khānzāda Begum, 3.9.2.c).

[106] See Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 6:8332. For another reference to the term that supports this meaning, see ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Javamiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fol. 190b, where it is described as a place for collecting water for a public bath.

No. 207–2. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a residence (*sarā*) with a garden (*bāghcha*) in the city of Herat, located within the Bāgh-i Shahr, the rights (*raqaba*) to which are state property (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). [126] Its eastern [boundary] abuts the house of Her Honour, the aforementioned Khanim Begim. Its western [boundary] abuts a private street (*kūy-i khāṣṣ*) which provides access (*maftaḥ*) [to it]. Its northern [boundary] abuts the land of the Bāgh-i Shahr, which is state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] abuts the house of Bāy ʿAlī b. Mihtar Qanbar [127] ʿAlī Farrāsh (i.e., the caretaker). The rights (*raqaba*) to the properties (*mavāżiʿ*) whose boundaries have been described here are also ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*).

No. 208–3. The entirety of a residence (*sarā*) and an adjoining garden (*bāghcha*), consisting of high and low buildings (*abniya-i ʿalaviyya va sufliyya*) and mulberry trees. Their eastern [boundary] abuts a courtyard (*fażāy*)[107] which is the private property (*milk*) [128] of [a woman] named Gul Bibi, the daughter of Amīr Aq Quzi b. Mīr Ḥusain. Their western [boundary] partly abuts a house which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, and which has [already] been mentioned, and partly the house of Darvīsh ʿAlī b. Shaikh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar. Their northern [boundary] abuts the land of the Bāgh-i Shahr, [129] which is state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Their southern [boundary] partly abuts the house of the Great *amīr*, Amīr Aq Quzi b. Amīr ʿAṭāʾullāh Sipāhī, and partly the residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, and which has [already] been mentioned, and partly the house of Ḥasan b. Ḥusain Junābadī.

No. 209–4. [130] The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a residence (*sarā*) and garden (*bāghcha*) adjacent to each other, located within the aforementioned Bāgh-i Shahr. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts a residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by Maulānā ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Maulānā Darvīsh Muḥammad b. Maulānā Muḥammad Kalān, [131] and partly the residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which belongs to the estate (*matrūka*) of Amīr Sārbān (i.e., the camel driver) Junaid b. Amīr Dāʾud Sārbān. Its western [boundary] partly abuts a residential compound (*ḥavālī*) which is held by the aforementioned Khanim Begim, and partly a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*mamarr*) [into it]. Its northern [boundary] abuts houses (*khānahā*) in the Bāgh-i

[107] For the term, see Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 138, line 321.

Shahr, which is ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). [132] Its southern [boundary] abuts the house of Maulānā Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Maulānā Kamāl al-Dīn Jīlānī (?).

No. [209a–5].[108] The entirety of a residence (*sarā*) within the city of Herat in the quarter (*maḥalla*) of Ustād Rajab Miʿmār (i.e., the architect), near the Fīrūzābād gate (*darb*).[109] Its eastern and [133] northern [boundaries] abut a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] is the same. Its western [boundary] abuts the land and bath (*ḥammām*) of His Honour, the Great *amīr*, Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Khvāja Aḥmad, the son of the late Lord, Khvāja Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Khvāfī.[110]

No. 210–6. The entirety [134] of a residence (*sarāy*) within the aforementioned city in the Ṭiflagān quarter (*maḥalla*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of [the woman] named Bibi Fāṭima Tūrānī (?). Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts the edge of the catchment basin (*khāy*) of Ṣābūngarān (i.e., the soap makers), which is common-use. Its southern [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Khvāja Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿUbaidullāh b. [135] Khvāja Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Khvāja ʿUbaidullāh.

No. 211–7. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a stable (*akhta-khāna*) [with] an adjoining vestibule (*dihlīz*), and [with] an upper-storey (*bālā-khāna*) in the rear, in the city of Herat near the edge of the catchment basin (*khāy*) of Daubandī in the Mīrākhvur quarter (*maḥalla*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which [136] belong to an endowment (*vaqf*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts the catchment basin (*khāy*) of the aforementioned quarter, which is the private property (*milk*) of no one. Its western [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly a house which is an ancient and well-known endowment (*vaqf*) for the mosque of the aforementioned quarter. Its northern [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*) and partly the house [137] [belonging to] the aforementioned endowment. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 212–8. The entirety of a residence (*sarāy*) near the Fīrūzābād gate (*darb*) in the Mīrākhvur quarter (*maḥalla*). Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Maulānā Qāsim b. Maulānā Yaʿqūb ʿAqlī (?), and partly the residence (*sarāy*) of Ustād Muḥammad b. [138]

[108] This parcel was apparently omitted from the sequential numbering and for this reason has been numbered 209a.

[109] The southern gate of Herat, for which see Allen, *Catalogue*, 37.

[110] For another reference to these individuals, see line 9 above.

Ustād ʿAbdullāh Fūshanjī. Its western [boundary] abuts the residence (*sarāy*) of Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of His Honour, Repository of accomplishments, who is linked to good fortune, Maulānā Niẓām al-Dīn Darvīsh ʿAbdullāh al-Munshī (i.e., the chancery scribe). Its northern [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*) which provides access (*madkhal*) [to it]. Its southern [boundary] [139] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 213–9. The entirety of a residence (*sarāy*) located within the aforementioned city in the Mīrākhvur quarter (*maḥalla*) near the Fīrūzābād gate (*darb*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts the house of Khvāja Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Khvāja Muḥammad Maladumī.[111] Its western [boundary] abuts [140] the house of Ustād ʿAlī Naddāf (i.e., the cotton carder) b. Darvīsh Aḥmad. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*).

No. 214–10. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a residence (*sarāy*) located at the edge of the catchment basin (*khāy*) of Mīr Varnā (?) within the city of Herat, near the Bāgh-i Shahr. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts a burial-place [located on] high [ground] (*maqbara-i arfaʿ*), [141] and partly the land of the Bāgh-i Shahr, which is state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Thus also its northern [boundary]. Its western [boundary] abuts a residence (*sarāy*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the aforementioned catchment basin.

No. 215–11. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of four [142] adjoining shops (*dukkān*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which are state property (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*), in the city of Herat, in the direction of the Fīrūzābād gate (*darb*), near the top of Bār-i Aḥmād lane (*kūcha*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public passageway (*mamarr-i ʿāmm*) [in] which [there] is a bazaar. Its western [boundary] abuts a residence (*sarāy*) which is held by Khvāja Muḥammad b. [143] Khvāja Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥammāmī (i.e., the bathhouse keeper). Its northern [boundary] abuts a shop (*dukkān*) which is held by the aforementioned Khvāja Muḥammad. Its southern [boundary] abuts a shop (*dukkān*) which is held by Khvāja Sulṭān Bāyazīd b. Khvāja Muḥammad [b.] Bāyazīd Nārī. The standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of these four shops consist [144] of lofty structures (*ʿimārāt-i ʿalaviyya*).

[111] For the village of Maladum in the district of Ālanjān, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:105.

No. 216–12. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of two adjoining shops (*dukkān*) [located] in the suburbs (*savād*) of Herat, in the village (*qarya*) of Barāmān,[112] in the Ḥājjī Khanim quarter, opposite the Khvurd gate (*dar*) of the Bāgh-i Zāghān, the rights (*raqaba*) to which are state property (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). [145] Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western and southern [boundaries] abut a dwelling (*manzil*) that Amīr ʿAbd al-Vahhāb b. Maulānā Luṭfullāh Bukhārī constituted as an endowment (*vaqf*), and the rights (*raqaba*) to which are ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). Its northern [boundary] abuts a shop (*dukkān*) belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of Maulānā ʿUbaidullāh b. Sharaf al-Dīn b. [146] Maulānā Abū Muslim.

Marūchāq and Sarakhs

No. 217–1. The entirety of the standing assets (*aʿyān-i qāʾima*) of a [water-] powered (*dāyir*)[113] and flourishing mill (*āsiyā*) in old Marūchāq in the province (*vilāyat*) of Murghāb,[114] in the Khvāja Salmān quarter (*maḥalla*), the rights (*raqaba*) to which belong to ancient state property (*khāliṣa-i qadīma*). Its eastern and western boundar[ies] partly abut the restricted border of a common-use feeder canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*) and [147] partly the middle (*baṭn*) of a common-use canal (*jūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] terminates in a meadow (*ulang*) [which is] ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma*). Its southern [boundary] abuts a public lane (*kūcha-i ʿāmm*).

No. [217a–2].[115] The entirety of an irrigation canal (*jūybār*) located in the aforementioned province near Panjpul [on] the Murghāb,[116] which is known as the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Aral (?). Its eastern [boundary] [148] terminates in lands [which have been assigned] as a revenue grant (*tiyul*) to members of the military (*yasaqīyān*).[117] Thus also its northern

[112] In the district of Injīl—see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:75.

[113] No doubt eliptical for *dāyir-i āb* or *dāyir bar āb*.

[114] For the town and province of Murghāb, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:30–31.

[115] This parcel was apparently omitted from the sequential numbering and for this reason it has been numbered 217a.

[116] Perhaps Panjdih (?), for which see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:31, 2:115.

[117] For the term *yasaqī*, which is apparently found only in sources from the Timurid period, with the meaning "auxiliary troops" or simply "soldiers," see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* 4:75–79. It also occurs in connection with a *tiyul* grant in Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 334; and in the *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 188, 287.

[boundary]. Its western [boundary] abuts the Murghāb, [which is] a common-use river (*rūd-i ʿāmm*). Thus also its southern [boundary].

No. 218–3. The entirety of an indivisible half of one indivisible share (*sahm*) out of a total of three indivisible shares [149] in the entirety of the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Ghiyāṯ, which is located in the province of Sarakhs [and] watered (*ābkhvur*) by the Tarbīna (?) canal (*nahr*). Its eastern [boundary] abuts a sandy wasteland (*rīg-i mavāt*) which has no owner. Its western [boundary] abuts the restricted border of the aforementioned Tarbīna (?) canal, which is common-use. Its northern [boundary] [150] abuts lands which are state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] partly abuts lands [which are] state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*), and partly the lands of the hamlet (*mazraʿa*) of Band-i kamar (?) [which is] the private property (*milk*) of His exalted Excellency, His Eminence, Refuge of Islam, Instrument of the Sharīʿa, the Great *Shaikh al-Islām*, Refuge for all classes of people, [151] Master of the religious scholars of the world, Sultan of authorities, Validation of meticulous scholars, Saif [al-Dīn] Aḥmad,[118] May God who is exalted lengthen his lofty shadow, the son of His exalted Excellency, the *Shaikh al-Islām*, Asylum of the people, Pride of the doctors of Islam, Sultan of jurisprudents (*fuqahāʾ*), [152] whose [many] accomplishments the tongue of the pen is powerless to describe, the late, blessed, lamented Maulānā Quṭb al-Milla va al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Taftāzānī, May God who is exalted cloak him with the raiment of His forgiveness.[119]

The province of Bādghīs

No. 219. The entirety of an underground water channel (*qanāt*) which is located in the province (*vilāyat*) of Bādghīs in the administrative unit (*sarkār*)[120] of Jildkharān (?) (i.e., the leather hide sellers?). Its eastern

[118] Written "Saifan Aḥmadan" in the right margin. For another instance of the use of the Arabic *tanvīn* with names of prominent individuals, see line 309 below.

[119] This must refer to Saif al-Dīn Aḥmad Taftāzānī (d. 1510), who had inherited the post of *shaikh al-Islām* of Herat from his father Quṭb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Taftāzānī (d. 1483), a descendant of the famous fourteenth-century theologian and jurist Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). See Ando, "The *Shaykh al-Islām*," 254–55; Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 213–14; and Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides*, 71, 74.

[120] For the meaning of this term as administrative unit, see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 461. For its use in the context of the handicrafts industry, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 31.

[boundary] abuts an underground water channel (*qanāt*)[121] [153] which is held by Bāragī Mīrākhvur (i.e., the equerry), the son of....[122] Its western [boundary] abuts an underground water channel (*qanāt*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its northern [boundary] abuts the underground water channel (*qanāt*) of Darvīsh Muḥammad Afradī, which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, [154] and the boundaries of which have been described. Its southern [boundary] abuts an underground water channel (*qanāt*) that belongs to the estate (*tarika*) of Amīr ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Sipāhī.

The village of Mālān in the Herat region

The entirety of the properties (*maḥdūdāt*) located in the village (*qarya*) of Mālān in the Herat [region], in the district (*bulūk*) of Gudāra:[123]

No. 220–1. [155] The entirety of a plot of vineyard (*qiṭʿa karm*) estimated at two *jarīb* in the quarter (*maḥalla*) of Qulb-i Mīrāb. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Thus also its western [boundary]. Its northern [boundary] abuts land which is held by Amīr Muḥammad b. Amīr Zangjī (?) [156] Mālānī. Its southern [boundary] abuts land which [has been constituted] as a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the congregational mosque (*masjid-i jāmiʿ*) of the town (*qaṣaba*) of Ziyāratgāh.[124]

No. 221–2. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at ten *jarīb* which is watered (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Bāzār. Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands belonging to the estate (*matrūka*) of His Exalted Honour, Repository of amirship, the aforementioned Amīr [157] Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlīshīr. Its western [boundary] abuts lands which are the private property (*milk*) of Khvāja Maḥmūd b. Shihāb al-Dīn Mālānī. Its northern

[121] This must mean the lands belonging to the outflow of the channel, not just the channel itself.

[122] The name Bāragī means "an excellent, strong horse." His filiation is unfortunately not provided, although a space had been left in the text for later insertion of the name. He may be the author of the *Faras-nāma* (MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 6735/I), which was written for the Shibanid Uzbek ruler ʿUbaidullāh Khan I by the former royal equerry (*mīrākhvur-i khāṣṣ*) of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara—see Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Timurid Legacy: A Reaffirmation and a Reassessment," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3–4 (1997): 11. For the title *mīrākhvur*, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Mīr-Ākẖūr" (by R. Murphey).

[123] For Mālān, see also p. 281 above.

[124] For the mosque, see Allen, *Catalogue*, no. 436.

[boundary] abuts land which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its southern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*)

No. 222–3. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) [measuring] one *jarīb* and two *dāng*. [158] Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands which [have been constituted as] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the Qulb-i Bāzār mosque. Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] is like the eastern [boundary]. The southern [boundary] partly abuts land which [belongs to] Muḥammad b. Ḥājjī Mālānī.

No. 223–4. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) [159] estimated at five *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts lands which are the private property (*milk*) of Mīr Aḥmad b. Mīr Sharaf al-Dīn Mālānī, and partly lands which are held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its western [boundary] partly abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly lands which are the private property (*milk*) of the aforementioned Muḥammad b. Ḥājjī. [160] Its western [boundary] partly abuts the land of Mīr Naṣrullāh b. Mīr Sirāj al-Dīn Mālānī, and partly lands which are an endowment (*vaqf*) for the Qulb-i Bāzār mosque. Its southern [boundary] partly abuts lands which are a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the congregational mosque of the aforementioned town, and partly land which is held by [161] Her aforementioned Majesty, the donor.

No. 224–5. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) [measuring] one *jarīb* and five *dāng*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts lands which are a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the congregational mosque of the aforementioned town. Its northern [boundary] abuts [162] the land of the aforementioned Mīr Naṣrullāh b. Mīr Sirāj al-Dīn.

No. 225–6. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at one and a half *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its western [boundary] abuts lands which are held by Her aforementioned Majesty. Its northern [boundary] abuts the lands of the aforementioned Mīr Naṣrullāh. [163] Its southern [boundary] is the same as its western [boundary].

No. 226–7. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at one *jarīb* and two *dāng*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the land of Darvīsh Muḥammad b. Pahlavān Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. Its western [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] is the same.

No. 227–8. [164] A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at three *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use

canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*). Its northern [boundary] abuts a cemetery [located on] high [ground] (*gūristān-i arfaʿ*). Its western [boundary] abuts lands which are a well-known ancient, legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*). Its southern [boundary] is the same.

No. 228–9. A plot of [165] land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at four and a half *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts land which [has been constituted as] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* of Fīlband,[125] which is located within the city of Herat, and partly the vineyard (*karm*) of Maulānā [166] Burhān al-Dīn b. Maulānā Niʿmatullāh al-Qāżī. Its western [boundary] abuts the vineyard (*karm*) of Khvāja ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. Its northern [boundary] is partly like the latter part of the eastern [boundary], and partly like the first part.

No. 229–10. [167] A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at ten *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands (*arāżī*) [belonging to] His Exalted Majesty, Padishah of Islam, Shadow of God over mankind, Guarantor of security and tranquility, Strengthener of sovereignty, the caliphate, this world, and the faith, Sultan Badīʿ al-Zamān Bahadur Khan, May his rule endure.[126] [168] Its western [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*) which [has been constituted as] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the congregational mosque of the aforementioned town. Its northern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] is like its western [boundary].

No. 230–11. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at two *jarīb*. [169] Its eastern [boundary] abuts land [which is] the private property (*milk*) of His Exalted Majesty, the aforementioned Sultan, May his rule endure. Its western [boundary] abuts lands [which are] state land (*khāliṣa-i sulṭānī*). Its southern [boundary] abuts the restricted border of a common-use canal (*nahr-i ʿāmm*).

No. 231–12. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at four *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts [170] a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*), and partly land which [has been constituted as] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the congregational mosque of the aforementioned town. Its northern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] is like the second part of the eastern [boundary].

No. 232–13. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) which receives its irrigation water (*ābkhvur*) from the well (*qulb*) of Sarv, [171] estimated at four *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts a vineyard (*karm*), an indivisible part of which is held by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor. Its western [boundary] abuts lands which [have been constituted as] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* of His Excellency, [172] Repository of rightful guidance, the aforementioned Amīr Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlīshīr. Its northern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Its southern [boundary] abuts a cul-de-sac (*kūy-i pīsh-basta*).

No. 233–14. A plot of land (*qiṭʿa zamīn*) estimated at six *jarīb*. Its eastern [boundary] abuts lands which [have been constituted as] [173] a legally binding, irrevocable endowment (*vaqf*) for the *khānaqāh* [located] at the crossroads (*chahārsūq*)[127] of the city of Herat. Its western [boundary] partly abuts a cul-de-sac which provides access (*madkhal*) [to it], and partly land which is held by Maḥmūd Ghūrī. Its northern [boundary] abuts a public street (*kūy-i ʿāmm*). Thus also its southern [boundary].

THE BENEFICIARY OF THE ENDOWMENT

[All of the above-mentioned properties] [174] together with everything that is legally considered to belong to these standing assets (*aʿyān-i qavāyim*), and together with all of their appurtenances and appendants, and everything belonging to them and connected with them (*bā jamīʿ-i tawābiʿ va lavāḥiq va mużāfāt va mansūbāt*),[128] and the remaining stone, iron, and wooden implements of the aforementioned properties (*mauqūfāt*), down to the minutest item (*min al-naqīr va al-qiṭmīr*), [she endowed and bestowed as a charitable donation][129] [175] for [the benefit of] the visitors (*zuvvār*) to the mausoleum (*junbad*),[130] which is located outside

[125] See Allen, *Catalogue*, no. 456.

[126] The Timurid ruler of Herat at the time, son of the recently deceased Sulṭān-Ḥusain.

[127] This could also mean the central marketplace, which was usually located at the main crossroads of a town.

[128] For the phrase, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 205, line 14; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 27.

[129] Some variant of the phrase, *vaqf kard va taṣadduq namūd*, must have occurred earlier in the document, before the description of the endowed properties—see Kazakov, "Analyse structurelle," 224–26.

[130] I.e., *gunbad*.

(*dar savād*) [the walled city of] Herat, by the bridge over the Injīl canal, at the place of the Royal Southern *madrasa* (*madrasa-i janūbī-i sulṭānī*), [being] one of the structures (*az jumla-i ʿimārāt*) on the north side (*jānib bi-shimāl*) of the aforementioned *madrasa*, the ultimate [beneficiaries of the endowment] being needy Muslims.[131] His Exalted Majesty, [176] who is as lofty as Saturn, the late, felicitous, lamented Sultan Muʿizz [al-Salṭana va al-Dunyā va] al-Dīn Abū al-Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bahadur Khan, May God illumine his tomb,[132] had created an endowment for the aforementioned mausoleum as [177] a place of burial and the [final] resting-place of Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor.

The boundaries of the aforementioned mausoleum are as follows: Its eastern [boundary] partly abuts the vaulted archway (*suffa*) of the aforementioned *madrasa*,[133] and partly the mausoleum that is the place of burial (*maqbara*) of His Exalted Majesty, [178] the aforementioned late Sultan. Its western [boundary] abuts a vestibule (*dihlīz*) [that is] the passageway (*rāhrau*) to this mausoleum, the place of burial (*maqbara*) of His Exalted Majesty, the aforementioned Sultan. Its northern [boundary] is like part of its eastern [boundary]. Its southern [boundary] abuts the middle (*miyān*) of [179] the aforementioned *madrasa*.[134]

THE CONDITIONS STIPULATED BY THE DONOR

Condition 1

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, May God who is exalted grant her prayers and may her modesty endure, set the condition (*sharṭ*) that, in accordance with general practice (*ʿalā sabīl al-ʿumūm*), she herself would be the trustee (*mutavallī*) of this endowment, [180] so that she may dispose of the aforementioned endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*)

[131] This standard phrase, *va ākhiruhu ʿalā fuqarāʾ al-Muslimīn*, was required in order to demonstrate the ultimately charitable purpose of the endowment. For other examples of its use, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 332, line 265; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 216, line 87. Although the phrase does not actually occur until line 179, it applies here and not to the preceding sentences that describe the mausoleum and its location.

[132] I.e., Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara.

[133] For the architectural term *ṣuffa*, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:73–74.

[134] For the location of Sulṭān-Ḥusain's *madrasa* complex, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture* 1:314–15.

and their revenues (*ḥāṣilāt*) in any way she wishes, and set any kind of condition she wishes, and alter any condition she wishes; and if she wishes to exchange one expenditure (*maṣraf*) for another, or the beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*) [181] for another, she can; and she may appoint whomever she wishes to the trusteeship (*tauliyat*) of this endowment on her behalf or to one of the posts (*manṣab*) of the aforementioned beneficiary of the endowment, and [182] she may dismiss him whenever she wishes; and she can increase and decrease the stipends (*vaẓāyif*) of the holders of stipendiary appointments and the rations (*ravātib*) (which will be set down in writing) whenever she wishes, since no one has the authority to impede or hinder her. [183] [S]he may dispose of them (i.e., the aforementioned endowed properties) and their revenues however she wishes, wherever she wishes, and to whomever she wishes, and she may impede whomever she wishes, and she may increase [the stipends] of whomever she wishes, and reduce [those] of whomever she wishes.[135]

And when Her Majesty the aforementioned donor, May God grant her long life, [184] in accordance with the [Qur'ānic] dictum "Every soul shall taste death,"[136] responds to the invitation of the Lord [with] "Here I am at your service,"[137] and hearing the call, "Return unto your Lord, content in His good pleasure,"[138] with the ear of understanding, she travels from [this] abode of impermanence to the abode of everlasting [life] and makes the inhabitants [185] of the precincts of Paradise and those who have made their encampments in Heaven joyful and happy on account of her noble arrival,[139] the trustee of this endowment will, in accordance with general practice (*ʿalā sabīl al-ʿumūm*), be whomever Her Majesty the aforementioned donor has appointed,[140] [186] and he is to collect the trustee's salary (*ḥaqq al-tauliya*), as assigned by Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, from the revenue (*ḥāṣil*) of the aforementioned endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*).[141]

[135] For this Arabic formula, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 201; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 216, lines 89–90.

[136] An allusion to Qur'ān 3:185, 21:35, 29:57.

[137] I.e., *Labbaika*, the formula pronounced by the pilgrim to Mecca.

[138] Qur'ān 89:28.

[139] I.e., when she dies.

[140] Because Afaq Begim was childless, she could not stipulate that her own descendants would assume the post after her death. But since she was still relatively young at the time (she did not die until some time shortly before 934/1527–28), she did not actually name the person who would succeed her as trustee.

[141] Nowhere in the *vaqfiyya* is the amount of the trustee's fee actually stipulated.

Condition 2

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, May her virtue endure, also set the condition (*sharṭ*) that [187] no one is to make any change or alteration to the aforementioned endowment, or to increase or decrease its conditions (*sharāyiṭ*). Nor, contrary to Sharīʿa law, are any *ṣadrs*,[142] qadis, or trustees of [other] endowments (*auqāf*) or functionaries (*kārkunān*) of [other] endowments, public (*ʿāmm*) or otherwise, [188] to demand or to collect the supplementary 10 per cent levy (*dah-yāzdah*),[143] the supplementary 5 per cent levy (*dah-nīm*),[144] the fee of the tax-collector (*muḥaṣṣilāna*)[145] [who assesses] the endowment, or [any] other [taxes], because they are not permitted [to do so]. By no means are the substances (*raqabāt*) of the aforementioned endowments (*auqāf*) to be exchanged (*istibdāl*), even if this would benefit the endowment.[146] [189] So long as the trustee acts in accordance with [this] condition set by the donor, he is not to be asked for the financial statement (*nuskha-i jamʿ va kharj*).[147]

Condition 3

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, also set the condition (*shart*) that, every ten years, the trustee of this endowment and the holders of stipendiary appointments (*arbāb-i vaẓāyif*) [190] must, by mutual agreement, come before the court of the qadi of the capital city of Herat, and certify the endowed status (*vaqfiyyat*)[148] of these properties (*mauqūfāt*) by means of a [pro forma] claim (*daʿvā*), a rebuttal (*inkār*) [of the claim], and the calling of witnesses (*istishhād*), as [required by] the law of the noble Sharīʿa.[149] [191] After a separate endorsement (*sijill*) has been

[142] For the office of *ṣadr* in the Timurid period, see chap. 5, p. 149 above.

[143] A supplementary levy of 10 per cent in cash on top of the regular agricultural taxes which were paid in kind—see Jürgen Paul, "Forming a Faction: The *Ḥimāyat* System of Khwaja Ahrar," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 4 (1991): 538–39. Paul's explanation improves on that of Chekhovich who states that it was simply a 10 per cent tax—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 405.

[144] Like the *dah-yāzdah*, this was also a supplementary levy.

[145] For this tax see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 167.

[146] For the practice of selling properties of a *vaqf* through the process of *istibdāl* (exchange), see chap. 5, n. 69.

[147] For another example of this condition, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Endowment," 51.

[148] For another example of this important requirement, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 341.

[149] For this practice, see n. 10 above.

registered to this effect,[150] the scribal fee (*ujra-i kātib*)[151] for drawing up the claim (*ṣūrat-i daʿvā*) and the endorsement (*sijill*) is to be paid, based on the whatever the trustee and the holders of stipendiary appointments deem appropriate, out of the revenue of the aforementioned properties (*mauqūfāt*), so that these endowments [192] may not cease to exist with the passage of time and fall outside the domain of *vaqf*.

Condition 4

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, May the days of her virtue be eternal and may her prayers be answered, also set the condition that the trustee of the aforementioned endowments must [193] spend the revenues (*maḥṣūlāt*) of these endowments first of all on the maintenance and repair of the endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*) and the aforementioned beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*). He is to spend whatever is left [after the payment of the expenses of] maintenance and repair of the endowed properties, [which include] the maintenance of underground water channels (*nafaqat al-qanavāt*), seed grain (*tukhm*), draught animals (*ʿavāmil*), and everything else necessary for [194] [carrying on] agricultural activity, on the salaries of the holders of stipendiary appointments (*arbāb-i vaẓāyif*) and on the rations (*ravātib*).

[With] any surplus (*ziyādatī*) remaining [after the payment of] expenses [connected with] the aforementioned beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*), the trustee and holders of stipendiary appointments are, by mutual agreement, [195] to buy desirable and suitable revenue-producing properties (*amlāk-i marghūb va mustaghall-i munāsib*),[152] and add them to the endowed properties. After incorporating their revenue into that of the aforementioned endowments, the trustee and the holders of stipendiary appointments are to consider [the matter] together and [196] divide up the surplus among the holders of stipendiary appointments; the maintenance of the aforementioned endowed properties and the object of the endowment; and the rations that will be described, according to the share [allotted] to each.

[150] For the term *sijill*, see Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 24; Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 309, 315; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 32. As Werner notes, its use in such contexts is not to be confused with *sijill* meaning a court register.

[151] See Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 341.

[152] For the term *mustaghall*, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 241, 291.

[197] And [with] whatever is left over from this division, the trustee and the holders of appointments are, by mutual agreement, again to buy suitable revenue-producing property (*mustaghall*) and to add it to the other endowed properties. They are to deal with whatever is left over from their revenues in the manner [already] indicated, [198] so that there is no alteration (*taghayyur*) [to the endowment].

The trustee must also [never] be negligent of the state of the workers and functionaries of the endowment. Anyone he ascertains is not trustworthy and competent (*amīn va kāfī*), he is to dismiss and [199] to appoint another who is trustworthy and competent in his place. The trustee must remove anyone who acts contrary to the Law on [any] of these endowed properties and give his post (*manṣab*) to trustworthy and competent people.

The trustee of these endowed properties [200] is to make an effort every year to visit all of the places [where] the endowed properties [are located] and to ascertain whether they are in good (*ṣalāḥ*) or poor (*fasād*) condition. For those places he is unable to visit himself he is to appoint a trustworthy and competent person on his behalf who will consider [the matter] and [201] make an assessment (*żabṭ*) of the aforementioned endowed properties. [That person] is to show him an accurate financial record (*nuskha*), and [the trustee] is to pay him such wages (*ḥaqq al-saʿy*)[153] as he deems fitting out of the aforementioned endowment.

Condition 5

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, also set the condition (*sharṭ*) that these endowed properties [202] are not to be rented out (*bi-ijārat*)[154] to those who are powerful and oppressive and would consume [their revenues], or to servitors (*mulāzimān*) of the ruler, or to those from whom it might be difficult or impossible to collect the rental payment (*badal-i ijārat*),[155] even if more than the fair rent (*ujrat al-miṯl*)[156] might be obtained by renting [it to them]. To persons other than these [the endowed properties] [203] are not to be rented out for more than three years, either by single or multiple contracts (*ʿuqūd*).[157]

[153] For the term, see Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 93; and Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 451.

[154] For the contract of tenancy, see Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 25ff.

[155] For this aspect of the condition, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 340, lines 404–5; Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 51; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 224, line 224.

[156] For this legal term in tenancy contracts, see Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 33.

Condition 6

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, May her virtue endure, [also] set the condition (*sharṭ*) that the trustee must act in accordance with the contents and directives of the endowment deed (*vaqfiyya*) [204] and not diverge from them. He is not to look to the way in which Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, had acted during her lifetime, [but rather] he is to act in conformity with the endowment deed and the conditions (*sharṭ*) [set by] the donor.[158]

Condition 7

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, [205] May her good fortune be eternal, [also] set the condition (*sharṭ*) that, every year at year-end, the trustee of the aforementioned endowed properties is to write down what the income and disbursements (*jamʿ va kharj*) of the aforementioned endowed properties have been [in the form of] a memorandum (*khāṭirnishān*) to the holders of stipendiary appointments (*arbāb-i vaẓāyif*) of the [206] aforementioned beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*) in order that they may be informed whether in that year the revenues from the aforementioned endowed properties had been spent in conformity with the conditions [set] by Her Majesty, the donor, or not.

If the trustee [207] does not show them a memorandum on the income and disbursements, the holders of stipendiary appointments are, as a group, to petition the current ruler to impede the trustee and issue an order (*ḥukm*) that the trustee write a memorandum to the holders

[157] For the three-year limit on the period of tenancy on *vaqf* lands, see Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax*, 34; Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 340, line 406; and Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 51–52. In some cases, the limit was set at one year. Thus in the endowment deed of the *masjid-i jāmiʿ* of Balkh—see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 224, line 152.

[158] This confirms that the powers enjoyed by the donor as the first trustee of the endowment were much broader than those of subsequent trustees, who had to act in strict conformity with the conditions set by him or her. The same condition applied in the *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 205, 298.

of stipendiary appointments [outlining] the income and disbursements of the endowed properties year by year [208], in conformity with the condition [set] by the donor.

Condition 8

Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, also set the condition (*sharṭ*) that the trustee must not let a single point go unobserved, so that what he receives as his trustee's salary (*ḥaqq al-tauliya*) [209] in accordance with the condition [set] by the donor might be rightfully his (*bar ū ḥalāl bāshad*). He is to occupy himself with the organization of the affairs of the beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*) and with the improvement and reinforcement of that which has started to deteriorate.

Condition 9

[210] Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, also set the condition (*sharṭ*) that if a calamity should occur in a [particular] year on these endowed properties that would occasion a shortfall (*nuqṣān*) in their revenues (*maḥṣūlāt*), and if [that calamity] is general, the trustee is to take that shortfall from everyone equally, [211] and not [just] from one place.

Also, whenever the effects (*maṣāliḥ*) of the aforementioned mausoleum (*junbad*), such as the tomb-cover (*qabrpūsh*), rugs (*qālī*), candlesticks (*sham'dān*), tallow lamps (*pīhsūz*), the copy of the Qur'ān, the *sīpāra* stand,[159] the Qur'ān stand (*raḥl*), and other [items], become worn, the trustee must repair them out of the revenues of the endowed properties, if they can be repaired. [212] If they cannot be repaired, he is to sell them at the going rate (*bi-qīmat-i vaqt*), add something to their purchase price out of the revenues of the endowments, buy comparable [items], and place [them] in the aforementioned mausoleum.

[159] *Sīpāra* refers to the thirty portions into which the Qur'ān is divided, a different portion being read each day of the lunar month.

Condition 10

[305] Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, May her prayers be answered, also set the condition (*sharṭ*) [306] that two of the posts [mentioned below] [307] should not be given to one person.[160]

PERSONNEL, SALARIES, STIPENDS, AND DISTRIBUTION OF RATIONS

[213] The stipendiary appointments (*arbāb-i vaẓāyif*) and rations (*ravātib*) [to be distributed] are as described and outlined [below]. It is God who brings success and who assists, and on Him alone do we rely.[161]

Stipends [214]

Professor (mudarris)

[215] The salary [216] of one learned professor (*mudarris*) who will teach the Traditions (*ḥadīth*) of the Prophet,[162] [217] God bless him and grant him peace, legal theory (*uṣūl*),[163] and the prolegomena (*muqaddimāt*) to it,[164] four days a week in this mausoleum [which is] the object of endowment, [is to be] annually 1,200 circulating *kapakī dīnārs*,[165] [218]

[160] This condition actually follows the section on personnel (lines 305–7), but it has been grouped here together with the other conditions.

[161] Although not strictly speaking Qur'ānic, this Arabic phrase is inspired by the Qur'ān.

[162] The study of *ḥadīth* figured prominently in fifteenth-century Herat—see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 223.

[163] I.e., *uṣūl al-fiqh*, or legal theory. For some of the texts studied in the fifteenth century, see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 226–27.

[164] I.e., the Arabic sciences, such as grammar, etc. In the fifteenth-century endowment deed for a *madrasa* in Samarqand, which stipulates the subjects to be taught, the term used is *muqaddimāt-i 'arabiyya*—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 240, line 49. The *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim for the paired *madrasas* in Samarqand stipulates that the religious sciences (*'ulūm-i shar'iyya-i dīniyya*) and the prolegomena to them (*muqaddimāt-i ān*) were to be taught—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 207.

[165] For an explanation of the denominations used in the deed, see lines 301–2.

and twenty-four assloads (*kharvār*) of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*),[166] [weighing] a hundred *mann* each.[167]

Students (ṭālib-ʿilm)

[219] The stipend[s] [220] of eleven students (*ṭālib-ʿilm*) of good character, who are making progress [in their studies] and who come to the aforementioned mausoleum four days a week for the purpose of study, [221] such that three of them are at the advanced level, four are at the intermediate level, and four are at the beginner's level, [are to be as follows]: Each of the [students] at the advanced level [is to receive] annually [222] 288 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, such that the entire group [receives] 864 *dīnār*s; and [223] five *kharvār* of wheat [weighing] a hundred *mann* each, such that the entire group [receives] fifteen *kharvār*. Each of the [students] at the intermediate level [is to receive] 192 *kapakī dīnār*s, [224] such that the entire group [receives] 768 *dīnār*s; and four *kharvār* of wheat [weighing] a hundred *mann* each, such that the entire group [receives] [225] sixteen *kharvār* [weighing] a hundred *mann* each. Each of the [students] at the beginner's level [is to receive] 144 *kapakī dīnār*s and [226] three *kharvār* of wheat [weighing] a hundred *mann* each, such that the entire group [receives] twelve *kharvār*.[168]

Shaikh

[227] The stipend [228] of an upstanding and pious shaikh who, after reciting the Qurʾān and distributing the rations, offers blessings, and [229] who keeps himself informed about the probity and/or corruptness of the Qurʾān reciters (*ḥuffāẓ*) and functionaries (*kārkunān*) of this mausoleum, the attendant (*mujāvir*),[169] the caretaker (*farrāsh*), the cook (*bāvurchī*), the server (*ṭabaqchī*), and others, [230] and who fulfils the requirements of this post (*manṣab*), is to be annually in cash and grain as follows: 1,200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash [231], [and] ten *kharvār* of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*).

Imām

[232] The stipend [233] of an upstanding and learned *imām* belonging to the Hanafite school of law, who fulfils the functions of leader in the five [daily] prayers in the aforementioned mausoleum that is the object of the endowment, [234] and who does not absent himself without a [legitimate] excuse (*ʿuẕr-i sharʿī*), [is to be] annually 300 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash [235] [and] five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Muʾazzin

[236] The stipend [237] of a muezzin (*muʾazzin*) who will be in constant attendance on the *imām* and who has a fine voice and is knowledgeable about the times of the five prayers [is to be] annually [238] 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Qurʾān reciters (ḥāfiẓ)

[239] The stipends [240] of five fine-voiced Qurʾān reciters (*ḥāfiẓ*) who will each day recite a portion (*sīpāra*) of the Word of God (i.e., the Qurʾān), the All-knowing, May His name be exalted, [241] in the aforementioned mausoleum that is the beneficiary of the endowment, and who in a loud voice will proclaim that [242] they have offered up the reward for this for the soul of Her Majesty, the donor, such that one of them will be the lead [reciter] (*muṣaddir*),[170] [are to be] [243] 500 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and ten *kharvār* of mixed grain for the lead [reciter], and for each of the others [244] 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and four *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*), [weighing] a hundred *mann* each.

Custodian (khādim)

[245] The stipend [246] of a custodian (*khādim*) who will constantly be on duty and who will be alert to any weakening of [the structure of]

[166] The mixture was half barley and half wheat—see lines 304–5. For the term *ghalla-i munāṣafa*, see Davidovich, *Istoriia denezhnogo obrashcheniia*, 347 n. 406; McChesney, *Waqf*, 188; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 217, line 98. The mixture could also be in three parts, as indicated by the term *ghalla-i muṣāliṣa*, for which see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 57.

[167] For these units of weight in Timurid Herat, see [Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery*, 42–43, 27–28; and lines 303–4 below.

[168] The total figure for the cash stipend appears to have been omitted by the copyist.

[169] See below under *khādim*.

[170] For other occurrences of this term, see McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 218, line 104.

this mausoleum, and who will fulfil the duties of attendant (*mujāvirī*) [247] in a proper manner and not be deficient, [is to be] annually as follows: 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, [and] five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Steward (bukāvul)

[248] The stipend [249] of a steward (*bukāvul*),[171] who will fulfil the functions [associated with] this [post] and distribute the rations of stew (*āsh*)[172] and bread with the knowledge of the shaikh [250] and provide food for the people, [is to be] annually as follows: 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, [and] five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Caretaker (farrāsh)

[251] The stipend [252] of a caretaker (*farrāsh*), who will sweep the aforementioned mausoleum and keep it clean and [253] be responsible for [its] opening and closing, and light the candles, [is to be] annually 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, and five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Cook (bāvurchī)

[254] The stipend [255] of a cook (*bāvurchī*),[173] who will be responsible for cooking the [daily] rations and [those] for the holy days and for every stew (*āsh*) served, [256] [is to be] 300 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, [and] five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*) of canonical weight (*bi-vazn-i shar*ʿ).[174]

Server (ṭabaqchī)

[257] The stipend [258] of a server (*ṭabaqchī*) in whose charge will be [all] the plates and cups and who will be responsible for proper serving

[171] Not to be confused with the Timurid household title *bökävül*, meaning the royal Taster. For the appointment of the *bukāvul* of the royal *madrasa-khānaqāh* complex of Sulṭān-Ḥusain in Herat, see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 61–63.

[172] A kind of thick soup or stew, similar to the German Eintopftgericht. In Uzbekistan today, it refers to a pilau. For the many varieties, see Īraj Afshār, ed., "*Risāla-i Māddat al-ḥayāt*, aṣar-i Nūrullāh, āshpaz-i Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafavī," *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* 1 (1332/1952): 251ff.

[173] Not to be confused with the meaning of the Timurid household title *bavurchi*, the royal Cook, from which it originates.

[174] The use of the phrase *bi-vazn-i shar*ʿ appears to support Hinz's observation that, in the Timurid period, there was a smaller, canonical *mann/kharvār* for small goods and a larger one for large goods—see [Hinz], *Musul'manskie mery*, 27–28.

and assist [259] the cook, [is to be] 200 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and three *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*) of canonical weight (*bi-vazn-i shar*ʿ).

Financial overseer (mushrif)

[260] The stipend [261] of a financial overseer (*mushrif*),[175] who will be trustworthy and keep an accurate financial record (*nuskha*) of what is disbursed on stipends, rations, and on the kitchen (*bāvurchī-khāna*), [262] and who will submit [it] month by month, and who will fulfil [all] the functions [connected with this post] properly, [is to be] [263] 500 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash, and five *kharvār* of wheat (*ḥinṭa*).

Chief financial officer (ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i kull)

[264] The stipend [265] of a chief financial officer (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ-i kull*),[176] from whose charge (*taḥvīl*) the revenues (*ḥāṣilāt*) of these endowed properties will be spent, [266] and who will audit the accounts (*muḥāsaba javāb gūyad*), [is to be] 1,000 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and ten *kharvār*s of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*).

Agricultural manager (ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirāʿat)

[267] The stipend [268] of a manager (*ṣāḥib-nasaq*), who will fittingly fulfil the functions of managing agricultural activity (*umūr-i nasaq-i zirāʿat*), and visit all the localities [where the endowed properties are located], [269] [is to be] annually 1,000 *dīnār*s in cash and ten *kharvār* of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*).

Accountant (ṣāḥib-daftar-i jamʿ)

[270] The stipend [271] of an accountant (*ṣāḥib-daftar-i jamʿ*), who will oversee the income and expenditures (*jamʿ va kharj*) of these endowed properties, [272] and keep an accurate ledger (*daftar*), [is to be] 1,000 *kapakī dīnār*s in cash and ten *kharvār* of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*).

[175] See Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 134.

[176] According to Minorsky, the head of a department—see Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 134; and Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 460, where she translates it as "revenue assessment officer."

Rations and Lighting of the Mausoleum [273]

The Feast of Ramaḍān

[274] The ration (*rātiba*) for the Feast of Ramaḍān (i.e., ʿĪd-i Fiṭr):[177] [275] 100 *mann* of *kulīcha* bread,[178] thirty *mann* of *ḥalvā* sweets,[179] five sheep with everything necessary for [their preparation], twenty *mann* of bread (*nān*), ten *mann* of rice, [and] everything else necessary, in the quantity required.

The Feast of the Sacrifice

[276] The ration for the Feast of the Sacrifice (i.e., ʿĪd-i Qurbān):[180] [277] one cow for sacrifice, three sheep for sacrifice, three sheep for stew (*āsh*),[181] together with everything necessary, in the amount required, [278] twenty *mann* of wheat for *ḥalīm* purée,[182] thirty *mann* of bread, [and] everything else necessary, in the quantity required.

The Day of ʿĀshūrā

[279] The ration for the Day of ʿĀshūrā:[183] [280] thirty *mann* of meat, thirty *mann* of bread, ten *mann* of *ḥavīj* wheat,[184] three *mann* of sheep's-tail fat (*dunba*), lentils and beans, and everything [281] else necessary, in the quantity required.

[177] Celebrated on the first of Shawwāl.

[178] For the term, see Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'* 2:134, s.v. *kuḷja*.

[179] For the many varieties of this sweet, which was associated with Sufi rituals, see Nevin Halıcı, *Sufi Cuisine*, trans. Ümit Hussein (London: Saqi, 2005), 119–23.

[180] Celebrated on the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

[181] For the many types of *āsh*, see Najmieh Batmanglij, *Food of Life: A Book of Ancient Persian and Modern Iranian Cooking and Ceremonies* (Washington, DC: Mage, 1986), 23–34.

[182] For this dish, see Afshār, "*Māddat al-ḥayāt*," 254; and Batmanglij, *Food of Life*, 50.

[183] Celebrated to end a voluntary fast-day observed on the 10th of Muḥarram. This is an ancient Sunni holy day and is not to be confused with the Shiʿite commemoration. For other contemporary references to its celebration in Timurid Khorasan, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 48 (although my remarks about Shiʿite influence should be amended).

[184] For this variety of wheat (*gandum*), see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 82.

Anniversary of the Death of the Prophet

[282] The ration for the [day on which] the Qurʾān is read in its entirety (*khatm*) [to commemorate the anniversary of the death] of His Excellency [Muḥammad],[185] [283] the Repository of prophethood, Peace and blessings upon him, on the 12th of Rabīʿ I: three sheep, [284] ten *mann* of rice, thirty *mann* of bread, [and] everything else necessary, in the quantity required.

The Day of Istiftāḥ

[285] The ration [286] for the Day of Istiftāḥ, which falls in the middle of [the month of] Rajab (i.e., the 15th of Rajab):[186] thirty *mann* of bread, twenty *mann* of *ḥalvā*, two sheep for chickpea soup [287], pickled [vegetables] (*turūshī*),[187] and everything else necessary, in the quantity required.

The Night of Barāt

[288] The ration [289] for the Night of Barāt, which falls on the 15th of Shaʿbān:[188] twenty *mann* of *chalpak* bread,[189] twenty *mann* of *ḥalvā*,

[185] The 12th of Rabīʿ I is also celebrated as the birthday of the Prophet, in which case the feast day is referred to as Maulid. It is interesting to note that it is the anniversary of the death, rather than the birthday of the Prophet that is observed, probably because the venue was a mausoleum.

[186] The month of Rajab was traditionally a time of supererogatory fasting, which could be broken on the 15th, the eve of which was one of the nights that the faithful were urged to spend in vigil. The 15th of Rajab was also popularly believed to be the day on which the gates of heaven and of the Kaʿba were opened—see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 10:2178, s.v. *rūz-i istiftāḥ*. Despite orthodox ordinances against them, the popular traditions connected with the month of Rajab persisted—see M. J. Kister, "'Rajab Is the Month of God…': A Study in the Persistence of an Early Tradition," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 200–202. According to the *vaqfiyya* of Mihr-Sulṭān Khanim, the Day of Istiftāḥ was on the 15th of Shaʿbān—see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 220, 309 (which she interprets as the first day of the academic year, which is unlikely). For another reference to the Rūz-i Istiftāḥ falling on the 15th of Rajab, see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 48 (although my earlier interpretation, which followed Mukminova's, is to be amended).

[187] Customarily, fruits and vegetables were preserved in vinegar. For pickled foods (*turshī*), see Batmanglij, *Food of Life*, 159–61; and Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-zirāʿa*, 268ff.

[188] It was believed to be the night on which the fate of a person was decided for the following year.

[189] A kind of thin bread or wafer cooked in oil—see Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire*, 287; and Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'* 1:462, s.v. *chālpāk*.

[290] thirty *mann* of bread, two sheep, one for chickpea soup, and one for pickling (sic) (*turūshī*), and everything else necessary, in the quantity required. [291]

Daily Rations

[292] To feed the righteous, the poor, and those who come to this mausoleum, the trustee is every day [293] to prepare and distribute the following: ten *mann* of croutons (*nān-i khushka*), ten *mann* of meat, [294] fifteen *mann* of wheat for *ḥalīm* purée, and everything else necessary, in the quantity required.

The Month of Ramaḍān

[295] The ration for the nights of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, which is to be added to the daily ration: [296] ten *mann* of meat, five *mann* of wheat, and five *mann* of flour for *māhīcha-i burr*,[190] and three *mann* of raisins or [297] grape syrup (*dūshāb*) for pudding (*pālūda*).[191]

Winter Rations

[298] In addition, every day from the beginning of [the month of] Scorpio (i.e., October to November) to the end of [the month of] Aries (i.e., March to April),[192] the trustee is to cook separately fifteen *mann* of wheat into [299] a gruel (*ghulūr*),[193] and two *mann* of tallow, one *mann* of chickpeas, ten *mann* of carrots, and ten *mann* of turnip into a gruel, together with everything else necessary in the amount required, and [300] give [it] to the dervishes and the poor to eat. The well-to-do are also allowed [to partake of it].

[190] A type of *āsh* made of wheat and flour—see Afshār, "*Māddat al-ḥayāt*," 251.

[191] For *pālūda*, see Halıcı, *Sufi Cuisine*, 130–31.

[192] Compare the provision made in the *Vaqfiyya* of ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī for winter rations to be distributed between the signs of Sagittarius and Pisces—see Subtelny, "Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation," 48. Compare also McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 223, lines 143–44. The zodiacal or solar calendar was in use alongside the lunar calendar.

[193] For a possible explanation of this term, which I have translated as gruel, see Qāsim b. Yūsuf, *Irshād al-ziraʿa*, 264, 318.

DENOMINATIONS USED FOR CURRENCY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES

[301] All the cash [sums] mentioned above are given in true-value circulating *kapakī* [*dīnārs*], six *dīnārs* [302] having the weight of one *miṣqāl* of pure (i.e., unalloyed) silver (*nuqra-i sara*) and in Herat [being equivalent] to thirty-six circulating Heratī *dīnārs*.[194] [303] All the weights mentioned above are according to the standard weight (*bār-i mutadāvil*) of Herat, each aforementioned *kharvār* [304] [weighing] a hundred *mann* of the aforementioned [type]. The mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*) is [305] half barley and half wheat.

RULING OF THE CHIEF JUDGE OF HERAT

Thereafter His Excellency, Repository of the Sharīʿa, Seat of virtues, Pride of judges and [308] arbitrators, Distinguisher between what is licit (*ḥalāl*) and forbidden (*ḥarām*), Chief judge of the people, May God who is exalted extend his lofty shadow, [309] Quṭb [al-Dīn] Muḥammad,[195] who is the authoritative judge of the city of Herat and its dependencies, and who is one of [310] the most eminent scholars, learned in cases of differences of opinion (*ikhtilāf*)[196] among legal authorities exercising independent judgement (*mujtahidīn*), God be pleased with them all, [311] in the course of a legal court proceedings (*murāfaʿa-i sharʿiyya*), made a ruling (*ḥukm*), first on the validity (*ṣiḥḥat*) and then on the irrevocability (*luzūm*) of the aforementioned endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*).[197]

[194] In other words, one *kapakī dīnār* equalled six Heratī *dīnārs*. The *kapakī dīnār* was silver, while the Heratī *dīnār* was a copper coin. Three *kapakī dīnārs* or eighteen Heratī *dīnārs* were equivalent to one *tanga*. For these values, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Coins and Coinage" (by Stephen Album, Michael L. Bates, and Willem Floor), 29; E. A. Davidovich, "Svidetel'stvo Daulatshakha o razmerakh zemel'noi renty pri Ulugbeke," in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka 1971* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 25–26; and Fragner, "Social and Internal Economic Affairs," 567. For corroboration of these equivalencies, see ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Ǧavāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 191a–b (document dated 899/1494); and app. 5, p. 356 below. I am grateful to Stephen Album for his assistance in interpreting the reference.

[195] Written "Quṭban Muḥammadan," i.e., Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Imāmī. For his signature, see below. For the formulaic use of the Arabic *tanvīn* with names, see line 151 above.

[196] For the term, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 32.

[197] On the scale of legal validity, *ṣaḥīḥ* refers to the highest level. See Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 511.

[312] The aforementioned endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*) were thus made *vaqf* for the aforementioned beneficiary of the endowment (*mauqūf ʿalaihi*) [313] as an eternal and perpetual endowment (*vaqfan mukhalladan muʾabbadan*), that cannot be sold or given as a gift or bequeathed [314] or pledged or owned for any reason or cause whatsoever.[198] "Whoever attempts to change it after [315] hearing [its terms], the guilt shall be on those who make the change. Verily, God is All-hearing, All-knowing."[199]

This ruling (*ḥukm*) was made [316] by His Excellency [the chief judge] on the 29th of Ṣafar, May it end successfully, which is one [317] in the series of months of the year 912 from the Hijra of the Prophet (i.e., July 22, 1506), Peace and blessings upon him.[200]

Signature and seal of the judge

I have ruled first on the validity (*ṣiḥḥat*) of this endowment and then on its irrevocability (*luzūm*), together with [all of] its conditions (*sharāʾiṭ*), in the course of a legal court proceedings (*al-murāfaʿa al-sharʿiyya*), by means of a firm ruling (*ḥukman muḥkaman*).[201] I am the humble one in need of God, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Imāmī. Praising God, the Lord of the worlds.

(*Seal*): I am the slave [of God], Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh al-Imāmī. He. In Him I trust and in Him I seek refuge. 902 (i.e., 1496–97).[202]

Signatures and seals of witnesses

His Honour, the aforementioned judge (*ḥākim*), had me witness to his ruling, I being the humble Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Abharī al-Ḥusainī.[203] (*Seal*)

[198] For the formula, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 75, line 29; and Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 117.

[199] Most of this section is in Arabic. The concluding formula is taken from Qurʾān 2:181 (where it refers to a person's last will and testament). For other instances of its use in legal documents, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 77, lines 58–59; Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 91, line 29; Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 207; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 226, lines 171–72.

[200] The formula which contains the date is in Arabic.

[201] The ruling containing the name of the judge is entirely in Arabic.

[202] The Arabic of the device reads *ʿalaihi tawakkultu wa bihi iʿtiṣāmī*.

[203] For similar phrasing, see Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 111, line 954.

Ḥasan b. Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī has borne witness to the ruling of His Honour, the aforementioned judge.

His Honour, the aforementioned judge, made me a witness to his ruling, I being the humble ʿAbdullāh b. ? (*Seal*)

Witnessing his ruling, in [God's] service, [I being] the supplicating servant, Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Muʾnāmī (?).

ʿImād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Muʾnāmī (?) has witnessed his ruling, in gratitude to God. (*Seal*)

His Honour, the aforementioned judge, has made me a witness to his ruling, I being the humble Muḥammad b. Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn ʿIrāqī.[204]

Endorsements[205]

In the Name of God, seeking an auspicious omen by mentioning His exalted Name, the doctors of the Faith, God be pleased with them, ask: Is this deed of endowment (*vaqfiyya*) correct (*durust*) and lawful (*sharʿī*), and is this endowment (*vaqf*) valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and irrevocable (*lāzim*) or not? State [whether they are or not] and may you be recompensed [for it].

Verily it is, [and] verily it is. God knows best. [Signed] Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al Rūḥī (?).

Verily it is, [and] verily it is. God knows best. [Signature illegible]

Verily it is, [and] verily it is. God knows best. [Signature illegible]

Verily it is, [and] verily it is. God knows best. [Signature illegible]

REVISED CONDITION[206]

He (i.e., In the Name of God)

Since Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, had stipulated that she could increase any condition she wanted, she stated that Āqā Yaʿqūb

[204] Followed by the illegible signatures of five other witnesses (not indicated in the facsimile edition).

[205] Notation in the right margin between lines 202 and 208, read by rotating the document clockwise ninety degrees. For such endorsements, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 53, lines 43–45; Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 144, line 22; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 32–33.

[206] Notation in the right margin between lines 285 and 316, read by rotating the document 180 degrees. The text of the notation therefore begins at line 316. The invocation "He" (*huwa*) signals that this is a separate document—see Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 26.

Shāh b. Āqā Khairī (?) Shāh b. Āqā Maʿrūf, who for many years (*az qadīm al-ayyām*) and by inheritance from his forefathers (*aban ʿan jaddin*) has been a servitor (*mulāzim*) of Her Majesty, the aforementioned donor, and of Her Majesty's forefathers, is to be the [agricultural] manager (*ṣāḥib-nasaq*)[207] of the aforementioned endowed properties (*mauqūfāt*), and that he is to be informed about agricultural activity in all of the aforementioned localities, and he is to visit all of these localities every year and to keep an accurate [financial] record (*nuskha*) of seed grain (*tukhm*), draught animals (*ʿavāmil*), agricultural labour (*barzīgarī*), the yield (*ḥāṣil*), land tax (*māl*), and administrative dues paid to the state (*ikhrājāt-i dīvānī*), the [cost of] maintenance of underground water channels (*nafaqat al-qanavāt*), and so forth.

Furthermore, he is to know all about the aforementioned stipends (*vaẓāyif*) and rations (*ravātib*), and the financial officer (*ṣāḥib-jamʿ*) is not to affix his seal to any drafts (*barāt*)[208] without his endorsement, and if he does so, the honouring of that draft is to be called in question and it will not be paid out to those [to whom it has been issued].

Furthermore, the functionaries of the aforementioned endowment are not to transgress what he considers to be proper [conduct] that is in conformity with the noble Sharīʿa. And if the aforementioned is not able to visit all of the localities himself because of illness or for some other legitimate excuse (*ʿuẓr-i sharʿī*),[209] he is to send a trustworthy person who is well-informed and who knows what is in the best interests (*maṣlaḥat*)[210] [of the endowment] to accompany the trustee to these localities so that he may bring [him] an accurate financial record (*nuskha*) based on his assessment (*ẓabṭ*). After the impediment has been removed, he is to visit all of the localities himself and verify [the situation], and if there has been an error in the trustee's ledger (*daftar*), he is to correct it. As his wages (*ḥaqq al-ʿamal*) he is to collect annually 2,000 *kapakī dīnār*s [of the type] described, and twenty *kharvār* of mixed grain (*ghalla-i munāṣafa*) of lawful weight (*bi-vazn-i sharʿ*).

Furthermore, it is permitted for him to give his post to any son of his he wishes so that that son may act in the manner described and collect his wages in accordance with previous custom. After the death

[207] For this post, see line 268.

[208] For the term *barāt*, see Chekhovich, *Bukharskie dokumenty*, 226 n. 106.

[209] For the phrase, see Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 209; and McChesney, "Reconstructing Balkh," 219, line 108.

[210] For the legal concept, see McChesney, *Waqf*, 11–13.

of the aforementioned, any son of his who is fit for the job is to be accorded the post and he is to collect his wages according to previous custom. Half of it he is to take for himself and the remaining half he is to divide among the other inheritors (*varaṣa*) of the aforementioned Āqā Yaʿqūb Shāh. And if there is no one among the sons of the aforementioned who has the qualifications for this post, the trustee must give the entire aforementioned sum [of money] and quantity [of grain] to the inheritors of the aforementioned so that they might divide them equally among themselves. He is not to give the aforementioned post to an outsider (*khārijī*), because it is not legally permissible (*ḥalāl*) for him [to do so]. Furthermore, the inheritors of the aforementioned Āqā Yaʿqūb Shāh are permitted to appoint any trustworthy person they want to perform the aforementioned task on their behalf (*az qibal-i khvud*) if they are not fit for the job themselves.

(*Seal of Afaq Begim*): Afaq Beki, daughter of Amīr Ḥasan, who trusts in the kindness of [God] who bestows all favours.[211]

May anyone who acts contrary to [this] condition [set by] the aforementioned donor or who contravenes it be [forever] cursed by God, May He be honoured and glorified, and by His angels until the Day of Judgement.[212]

[211] The device reads *al-wāthiqa bi-alṭāf dhī al-minan*. The reading was kindly suggested by Lutz Ilisch of the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen.

[212] For the formula of anathema (*laʿnat*), see Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 36; and Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 77, lines 57–58.

APPENDIX THREE

AN EDICT OF SULṬĀN-ABŪ SAʿĪD CONCERNING THE GULISTĀN DAM AT MASHHAD

Translation

This is to inform the sayyids, the governor (*dārūgha*), the qadis, the shaikhs, the religious officials (*mavālī*), the notables (*aʿyān va aʿālī*), the ministers and functionaries (*arbāb va mubāshirān*) [of the *dīvān*], and [all] the inhabitants of the province (*vilāyat*) of Tus-Mashhad that, since developing the land and ameliorating the [conditions] of the subjects are ways to gain the approval of the Creator and a means to attain the benefits of [both] the Faith and this world, we have, of necessity, always endeavoured, with the help of the Creator, to ensure that our divinely Guarded Realm resembles the Garden of Iram by watering it with the rain-laden clouds of our care, and that the gardens of the state and of the [Muslim] community be kept moist from the overflowing springs of our compassion and favour.

Accordingly, [we] issued the lofty directive (*ishārat*) that the Gulistān checkdam (*band*) be built.[1] After it was completed through the felicity of [our] eternal good fortune, it was brought to our royal attention that some of the lands that were rendered arable by means of water from it are the property of private owners (*milk-i arbāb*) while others [belong to] pious endowments (*vaqf*) of various types. Our royal will decided that all those arable lands (*mazāriʿ*) should become the property of the royal privy purse (*khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) by means of the conclusion of

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Source: "Recueil de documents diplomatiques," fols. 34b–35a. For a description of the manuscript, see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905–34), 4:277–79. Published in Navāʾī, *Asnād*, 313 (from the *Munshaʾāt* of Ḥaidar Ivoghli).

[1] It is possible that Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd only reconstructed it. William M. Clevenger incorrectly interpreted the Persian idiomatic expression used for constructing a dam (*band bastan*) to mean that the Gulistān dam had previously been ordered "closed"—see Clevenger, "Dams in Ḫorāsān," 391 n. 7.

contracts of sale (*mubāyaʿa*),[2] and through the lawful exchange (*istibdāl*) [of *vaqf* properties].[3]

In accordance with this [directive], Maulānā Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāfī, who is well versed in the fine points of legal transactions (*muʿāmalāt-i sharʿiyya*) [as well as] in matters pertaining to customary law (*muhimmāt-i ʿurfiyya*),[4] has been appointed general agent (*vakīl-i ʿāmm*) on our behalf, and sent [there] in order to take care of whatever this matter requires in the way of [contracts of] purchase and sale (*bayʿ va shirā*), partnerships (*mufāvażāt*), claims (*daʿāvā*), [the settling of] disputes (*khuṣūmāt*), and the like. If a legal matter should come up that requires a court proceedings (*murāfaʿa*) and the handing down of a ruling (*ḥukm*), Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Jāmī,[5] who is the assistant (*mumidd*) in this matter and countersigner (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*) on endorsements (*sijillāt*)[6] and claims (*daʿvā*), should go there and obtain a ruling from the judge in accordance with the Sharīʿa.

Once this directive has been [issued], no alteration may be made to it. Nor can there be any deviation from the contents of this royal order (*farmān-i humāyūn*) or any shortcomings [at all] in this matter.

[2] For the term *mubāyaʿa*, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 14. Navāʾī's edition gives the incorrect reading *musābiqa*.

[3] For the sale of properties through a process of "exchange," see chap. 5, n. 69.

[4] For him, see p. 71 above. For the admissibility of customary practices (*ʿurf*) in Islamic law, see Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 164–66.

[5] Perhaps to be identified with Yūsuf-i Ahl, for whom see Subtelny and Khalidov, "Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 216–17.

[6] For the term *sijill*, meaning endorsement, see app. 2, n. 150 above.

APPENDIX FOUR

A DIPLOMA OF APPOINTMENT ISSUED BY SULṬĀN-ḤUSAIN FOR THE SUPERVISOR OF THE ʿALID SHRINE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT AT BALKH

Translation

May those who are entrusted with the business of state, those who administer the affairs of the [Muslim] community, those who occupy the highest stratum of society, and all of the inhabitants who dwell in the safeguarded [domain] of Balkh and its dependencies be informed of [the following]:

Since, in accordance with Divine assitance and with the favour of [God's] unending support, the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of the holy tomb of His Excellency, the One distinguished by caliphal rule, the Sultan of saints and the purehearted, the *Imām* of the pious, the gnostics, and vicegerents [of the saints], the Commander of the faithful, the Chief of the *imām*s, the Guide of the guided ones, the One in whom miracles and marvels are manifested, our Lord, the Master of men and jinn, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, May God bless him, in the paradisiacal district [of Balkh] is a special feature of the reign of this (i.e., Timurid) dynasty, which is characterized by faith and justice, this task is now the good fortune of the one to whom it falls.

Assuredly, the revival of the preconditions for development and the enhancement of the foundations for the promotion of the renown of that *qibla* of good fortune for [all Muslim] peoples and that Kaʿba of the hopes of Arabs and Persians alike is one of the requisites of true belief and one of the requirements for the attainment of this world and the next.

At this time, having brought to bear, with sincerity and dedication, [our] complete auspicious resolution to fulfil that intention, we entrust the accomplishment of all matters required by that weighty task to a responsible (*ṣāḥib-ʿuhda*) and knowledgeable (*vāfī-dirāyat*) person who is worthy of taking on that charge.

Source: Niẓāmī Bākharzī, *Mansha' al-inshā'*, 278–79.

It is [therefore] decreed that Qivām al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim, who belongs to a family that for generations has been entrusted with deputyship (*niyābat*) in the financial administration (*dīvān*), and who, having turned away from vain worldly distractions, is now an administrator (*mulāzim*) of that shrine which is the abode of the holy, as the manager and the one responsible for the illustrious development project (*mushīr va kārfarmā-yi ʿimārat*), both in an advisory and executive capacity, and as the manager of the agricultural activity (*ṣāḥib-nasaq-i zirāʿat*) [connected with] the enterprise (*sarkār*) of that holy shrine, is to fulfil without delay the conditions of his diligent concern in matters [connected with] the irrigation canal (*kārīz*) which, in accordance with royal order, is being put into operation for the endowed [lands] of that blessed place, and to bring it to completion as soon as possible.

It is imperative that the aforementioned [Qivām al-Dīn] be considered solely responsible for these affairs and that all the master craftsmen (*ustādān*), workers (*kārkunān*), functionaries (*mubāshirān*), and agricultural personnel (*kārguzārān-i zirāʿat*) not be permitted to deviate in important matters from what he says or deems right.

When he has fulfilled the weighty matters he has been charged with, in the Year of the Tiger,[1] he is to be paid in full, as a fee for services rendered (*ḥaqq-i ihtimām*), the sum of 1,000 *kapakī dīnār*s and 100 *kharvār*s of legal weight of grain, half being wheat and half barley (*munāṣifa*), from the lawful tax revenues (*maḥṣūlāt-i ḥalāl-i māl*) of Balkh.

It is [further] decreed that, since we have favoured the aforementioned [Qivām al-Dīn] with release from his duties in the financial administration of the state (*dīvān*), having seconded him to the management of the enterprise (*sarkār*) of the sacred shrine, no one is to burden him with matters pertaining to the state treasury and the burdens [they occasion].

[1] I.e., 887/1482–83. For the correspondence, see ʿAlī Akbar Khān Muḥammadī, "Sālshumār-i taṭbīqī-i sālhā-yi turkī va hijrī qamarī," *Tārīkh-i muʿāṣir-i Īrān* 1 (1368/1989): 103. The document is otherwise undated.

APPENDIX FIVE

BILLS OF PURCHASE AND SALE RELATING TO THE PRIVATIZATION OF STATE LAND IN THE BALKH REGION BY SULṬĀN-ḤUSAIN

Translation

BILL OF SALE OF STATE LAND[1]

Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon our leader Muḥammad and his Family and all his Companions.[2]

This is a memorandum (*ẕikr*)[3] [recording the fact] that His Majesty Abū al-Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bahadur Khan, who is as exalted as Saturn, etc.,[4] appointed His Eminence so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the Repository of the Sharīʿa,[5] as his general agent (*vakīl-i ʿāmm*)[6] in all [the following legal matters]: making and receiving claims (*daʿvā va akẖẕ-i muddaʿā*); [contracts of] purchase and sale (*bayʿ va shirā*); the delivery of property and receipt of the purchase price thereof (*taslīm-i mabīʿ va akẖẕ-i ṯaman*);[7] quittance (*ibrāʾ*) from claims of fraud (*daʿvā-i*

Source: ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Ǧavāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fols. 14b–16b.

[1] The full title reads, "Document [to be used] for a bill of sale (*vaṯīqa-i bayʿ*) of state land (*ẕamīn-i mamlaka-i pādshāhī*), which was drawn up by the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) of Khorasan." For the contract of sale (*bayʿ*), see Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 151; Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 37ff.; and Little, *Catalogue*, 276. For a detailed discussion of the form and language of bills of sale, see Monika Gronke, *Arabische und persische Privaturkunden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts aus Ardabil (Aserbeidschan)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1982), 19ff.; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 13–49. The translation has benefited greatly from the comments and suggestions of Mohammad Fadel of the University of Toronto Faculty of Law.

[2] The introductory encomium in Arabic was abridged in the formulary.

[3] For this introductory formula, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 21.

[4] As indicated by the use of the stock Arabic phrase *ilā ākẖarī alqābihī* ("including the rest of his titles"), the usual long string of honorifics was omitted here.

[5] Judging from the epithet *sharīʿat-maʿāb*, he was a judicial authority.

[6] For an agent or proxy acting on behalf of a highly placed individual in contracts of sale, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 24.

[7] For the transfer of property in Islamic legal documents, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 53–56.

kiẓb) in formal acknowledgements (*iqrār*)[8] [involving] taking possession of a purchase price (*qabż-i ṣaman*) and from irregularities (*fasād*) in a sale; and everything attendant upon these matters. The aforementioned agency (*vikālat*) [of the aforementioned individual] on behalf of (*az qibal*) His Majesty, the aforementioned Sultan, May his reign endure, was confirmed (*ṣābit*) in a Sharīʿa court proceedings (*murāfaʿa-i sharʿiyya*)[9] or through the testimony of lawful witnesses (*bayyina-i muʿaddala*).[10] The ruling (*ḥukm*) of His Eminence so-and-so, who is of exalted rank, confirmed it in accordance with [normal] legal procedure (*kamā huwa ṭarīquhu sharʿan*).

His Eminence, the agent (*vakīl*) named herein, then made a valid and lawful acknowledgement (*iqrār-i ṣaḥīḥ-i sharʿī*)[11] of his own volition (*ṭāʾiʿan*)[12] that he had sold (*furūkhta ast*)[13] by means of a valid and lawful sale (*bi-bayʿ-i ṣaḥīḥ-i sharʿī*) to Maulānā so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, [the properties] which the seller (*bāyiʿ*) named herein said was ancient state land (*khāliṣa-i qadīma-i sulṭānī*). [Because] it (i.e., state land) is on a par with the public treasury (*ḥukm-i bait al-māl dārad*), His aforementioned Majesty [Sulṭān-Ḥusain], May his reign endure, had the authority (*vilāyat*) to sell it.[14]

Description of the properties

In its entirety,[15] an indivisible (*shāyiʿ*)[16] two-thirds (*sulṣān*) of the village called Palāspūsh, which is located on the main feeder canal of [Balkh],

[8] The term *iqrār* denotes a duly notarized acknowledgement that needs to be witnessed in order to be admissible in a court proceeding. For the term, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 26; Little, *Catalogue*, 60, 378; and Gronke, *Privaturkunden*, 21, 50.

[9] For the phrase, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 303, 371.

[10] Compare the phrase *bi-al-bayyina al-ʿādila* in *Iz arkhiva sheikhov Dzhuibari*, 3, doc. 3; 478, doc. 382. See also ʿAlī al-Khvārazmī, *al-Javāmiʿ al-ʿAliyya*, fol. 181a.

[11] On the scale of legal validity, *ṣaḥīḥ* refers to the highest level. See Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 511.

[12] I.e., without compulsion. For acknowledgements of free will and mental health, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 93; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 24–25.

[13] For the use of this key word in bills of sale, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 24.

[14] For the legal status of lands belonging to the state, and the use of this formula, see chap. 6, pp. 220–22 above.

[15] For the use of such phrases to introduce a property, see app. 2, n. 18.

[16] For the term *shāyiʿ* (also *mushāʿ*), used to denote an indivisible share in a property, see app. 2, n. 26.

the Cupola of Islam (i.e., Jūybār-i Balkh or Nahr-i Balkh),[17] its boundaries (*ḥudūd*) being as follows....[18]

In its entirety, an indivisible two-thirds of the village of Naubahār, which is located in the *vilāyat* of Balkh and [watered by] the Qizil Ribāṭ canal (*nahr*),[19] its boundaries being as follows....

In its entirety, an indivisible [two-thirds][20] of the village known as Vazīrābād, which is located in the aforementioned *vilāyat* [of Balkh] and [watered by] the ʿAbdullāh canal (*nahr*),[21] its boundaries being as follows....

In their entirety, twenty indivisible shares (*sahm*) out of a total of thirty-two shares[22] in the river bank/ravine(?) (*jar*),[23] [and twenty shares] out of a total of thirty-two shares in the water (*āb*) of the Palāspūsh canal (*nahr*),[24] of which there is not another in this *vilāyat*, and which branches off from the Balkh feeder canal. These twenty water shares of water out of a total of thirty-two shares in the aforementioned Palāspūsh canal [represent] an indivisible two-thirds of the irrigation water (*shurb*) of the entire aforementioned village of Palāspūsh.[25]

[17] For Palāspūsh and the Nahr-i Balkh, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:51, 2:184; and Adamec, *Gazetteer of Afghanistan* 4:253. This canal is not to be confused with the Balkhab river.

[18] The standard description of the properties, which involved describing them in terms of the properties they abutted, was omitted in the formulary.

[19] Naubahār is not listed in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's description of the Balkh region, but it is mentioned in the early eighteenth-century history *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, where it is called a small canal—see Salakhetdinova, "K istoricheskoi toponimike Balkhskoi oblasti," 224; also McChesney, *Waqf*, 141. The village may have been the site of a former Buddhist monastery—see Ball, *Archaeological Gazetteer* 1:47, no. 99. For the canal, which was on the Hazhdah Nahr system, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:51.

[20] The word *sulṣān* (two-thirds) appears to have been omitted in the original. This is a conjectural reading only, based on the fact that all the other shares mentioned in the document were also two-thirds.

[21] For Vazīrābād, see Krawulsky, *Ḫorāsān* 2:51 (although the name of the ʿAbdullāh canal was missing in the manuscript), 2:186.

[22] I.e., approximately two-thirds of the total.

[23] The meaning of the term *jar* is unclear. It is either a "ravine" or a "depression" of some sort—see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 366, 320; and Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* 5:6663.

[24] Not mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. For its possible location, see map 3.

[25] For the term *shurb*, see Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 54, line 133; and Ivanov, *Khoziaistvo dzhuibarskikh sheikhov*, 188.

[All of the aforementioned properties] are included in this sale, as well as everything that is considered intrinsic or external to it,[26] in a single transaction (*ṣafqa vāḥida*),[27] for the sum of 23,000 *kapakī dīnārs*—three *dīnārs* having the weight of one *miṣqāl* of pure (i.e., unalloyed) silver (*nuqra-i sara*) and in Herat having the currency (*rā'ij*) of eighteen *dīnārs*[28]—half [of the sum] (*niṣfuhu*) being 11,500 *dīnārs*.[29]

The aforementioned buyer (*mushtarī*) thereupon took lawful possession (*qabż-i sharʿī*) of the aforementioned property (*mabīʿ*)[30] [in] a valid and lawful [transaction] of purchase and sale (*bayʿ va shirā*), comprising the offer and acceptance (*ījāb va qubūl*)[31] of a sale by a Muslim to a Muslim,[32] free of invalidating conditions (*shurūṭ-i muſsida*) and clauses [that would render it] null and void (*maʿānī-i mubaṭṭila*),[33] not intended as a pledge (*rahn*) or gift (*hiba*) or exclusive bequest (*taljī'a*),[34] but rather as a final and indissoluble (*bāt batāt*), irrevocable (*batla*), bona fide (*ḥaqīqī*), one-time only (*yak bāragī*) sale.[35]

Thereafter His aforementioned Eminence, in a state of sound mind (*dar ḥāl-i ṣiḥḥat*) and of his own volition (*rāghiban*), acquitted (*ibrā' kard*)

[26] *Min al-vujūh dākhilan fihā au khārijan ʿanhā*. For similar phrases, which are intended to indicate the comprehensive nature of the sale, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 54, 84.

[27] For this formula in contracts, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 81; and Gronke, *Privaturkunden*, 24.

[28] For the currency used in Herat, see app. 2, p. 311 above. See in addition E. A. Davidovich, "Materialy dlia kharakteristiki denezhnoi reformy Ulugbeka," In *Iz istorii èpokhi Ulugbeka*, ed. A. K. Arends (Tashkent: Nauka, [1965]), 281ff.

[29] On this ancient method of safeguarding the accuracy of large sums in legal documents, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 53–54; and Gronke, *Privaturkunden*, 29. For examples of its use, see Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 58; and Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 67.

[30] On transfer clauses, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 54. For the term *mabīʿ*, meaning the object of the sale, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 25.

[31] The acts of offer (*ījāb*) and acceptance (*qubūl*) together guarantee the validity of a bill of sale. See Little, *Catalogue*, 275; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 22.

[32] For the formula *bayʿ al-Muslim min al-Muslim*, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 85.

[33] For formulae guaranteeing the validity of a transaction, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 56, 84–85. For the terms *fāsid* (invalidating, voidable) and *bāṭil* (null and void) on the scale of legal validity, see Johansen, *Contingency in a Sacred Law*, 511.

[34] For these phrases, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 84–85.

[35] For similar concluding clauses in bills of sale, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 29–30. For the formulae *bi-bayʿ-i bāt-batāt* and *batla*, see Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 99, 102, 104; *Iz arkhiva sheikhov Dzhuibari*, 472; and Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 77.

[himself] of any claims of fraud (*kiżb*) in this acknowledgement (*iqrār*) and of invalidating [irregularities] (*fasād*)[36] in this property.[37]

This [was recorded] on 5 Jumādā I 901 (i.e., January 21, 1496).[38]

BILL OF PURCHASE[39]

Praise be to God, through whose power the seas [appeared] on the face of the earth and who made the streams and rivers flow from the wellsprings of His wisdom, and who, through the perfection of His lordly power, created the grains and fruits—How wonderfully do the flowers bloom and do the trees bring forth fruit—and blessings and peace upon the finest of His creatures, Muḥammad, chief of the pious, and upon his fine Family and his stalwart Companions.[40]

This is a memorandum (*żikr*) whose heading is adorned with mention of [God], the Necessary Existent, and the conclusion to which is authenticated by the names of credible witnesses (*ʿudūl va shuhūd*). It is based on and follows from the fact that the agent (*vakīl*) for His Majesty, Khan so-and-so (i.e., Sulṭān-Ḥusain), whose rank is as lofty as the highest heavenly sphere[41]—and he is the Esteemed Maulā[nā] so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, who was the agent on behalf of the mighty Sultan in waivers of rights (*isqāṭāt*) and commutative contracts

[36] Compare the meaning of the term *fāsid* in n. 33 above.

[37] For quittance clauses in bills of sale, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 57–60, 86; and Werner, "Formal Aspects," 29–30. It is unclear to whom "His aforementioned Eminence" refers. Logically, it should be the buyer who acquits the seller of the responsibility for any claims against the sale. But here it appears to be Sulṭān-Ḥusain's agent who is acquitting himself on behalf of Sulṭān-Ḥusain of responsibility to the buyer. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the title "His Eminence" is used elsewhere in the document to refer to Sulṭān-Ḥusain's agent (*janāb-i vakīl, janāb-i bāyiʿ*), and not to the unnamed buyer who is simply referred to as Maulanā, the equivalent of English "Mr." Moreover, earlier in the document there is a statement to the effect that Sulṭān-Ḥusain's agent was empowered to "acquit himself of claims of fraud in acknowledgements of taking legal posession of the purchase price."

[38] For the recording of precise dates in bills of sale, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 32.

[39] The title reads, "Bill of purchase (*ṣakk-i shirā*) by the aforementioned Excellency, Repository of the Sultanate, which was written on the back (*dar ẓahr*) of the above-mentioned bill of sale (*ṣakk-i bayʿ*)." For the practice of writing documents on the reverse of original contracts, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 47; and Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 37. For the term *ṣakk* used for bills of purchase and sale, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 1 n. 1.

[40] As in the bill of sale, the introductory encomium is in Arabic.

[41] The term *ʿarsh* also denotes the divine Throne, which was equated in Islamic cosmology with the sphere of spheres.

(*muʿāvadāt*), such as [contracts of] purchase and sale, and quittance, [and who was] confirmed in a Sharīʿa court proceedings (*murāfaʿa-i sharʿiyya*) by means of the ruling (*ḥukm*) of His Eminence, the Refuge of the office of *ṣadr*,[42] who is of noble name and lofty lineage—made an effective and lawful acknowledgement (*iqrār-i muʿtabar-i sharʿī*) that he had made [this] purchase for His Majesty of lofty throne, Khan so-and-so (i.e., Sulṭān-Ḥusain), with His Majesty's funds (*māl*) by means of this document (*ṣaḥīfa*), in accordance with the proper legal procedures.[43]

His Eminence, the aforementioned agent (*vakīl*), then made a formal acknowledgement (*iqrār*) that he had bought from the Esteemed Maulānā so-and-so, who is named herein, the property (*maḥdūd*) mentioned herein in its entirety, which the seller (*bāyiʿ*) stated was his very own private property (*ḥaqq-i khāliṣ va milk-i makhṣūṣ*),[44] free of joint-ownership or [any other type of] claims (*shirkat va taʿalluq*), by reason of the lawful purchase mentioned herein, for the sum of 23,000 *kapakī dīnār*s of the same specie (*jins-i ʿadālī*) mentioned herein, in a true (*durust*), lawful (*sharʿī*), definitive and indissoluble (*bāt-batāt*), irrevocable (*qaṭʿī*), one-time only (*yak bāragī*) sale, [executed while he was] in a state of good health and sound mind, [being] free of hidden defects (*maẕaʿa*) and irregularities (*fasād*), [including both] the land and its irrigation water (*bi-arẓihi va shurbihi*),[45] water courses (*majārī-i miyāhiyya*),[46] all the rights (*ḥuqūq*) which pertain both intrinsically and externally,[47] and everything which is connected with these, no matter how many or how few (*min al-qalīl va al-kaṯīr*), or whether they are mentioned or not,[48] with the legal exceptions (*al-mustaṯnayāt al-sharʿiyya*)[49] of mosques, cemeteries, public thoroughfares, public reservoirs, and whatever [else] the sale did not include right of access to.

[42] It will be recalled that, under the Timurids, the *ṣadr* was responsible for all transactions connected with the pious endowments.

[43] The last phrase reads, *kamā bayyinat al-ḥavādiṯ al-ḥukmiyya va al-navāzil al-sharʿiyya.*

[44] For similar clauses affirming private ownership of a property, see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 31.

[45] For the phrase, see Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 160, line 17. For the term *shurb*, see app. 2, n. 82 above.

[46] For this phrase, see Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 54, 70.

[47] For accessory clauses defining property, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 51–53.

[48] For such comprehensive clauses, see Gronke, *Privaturkunden*, 28.

[49] For the term for legal exceptions, see Chekhovich, *Dokumenty k istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii*, 58, line 50; Chekhovich, *Samarkandskie dokumenty*, 67, line 28; and Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 54, line 127.

The seller (*bāyiʿ*), who is named at the beginning (*ṣadr*) [of this document],[50] made an acknowledgement (*iqrār*) that he had sold the property mentioned herein in its entirety, in a single transaction (*bi-ṣafqa vāḥida*), for the aforementioned sum, to His Eminence, the aforementioned buyer (*mushtarī*), who is the agent (*vakīl*) for His Majesty, the exalted Sultan (i.e., Sulṭān-Ḥusain), May his reign endure.

Thereafter the aforementioned seller (*bāyiʿ*) acquitted His Eminence, the aforementioned buyer (*mushtarī*), who was acting as agent for His Majesty, the Sultan of lofty abode (i.e., Sulṭān-Ḥusain), of responsibility for any claims of fraud (*kiẕb*) in this acknowledgement (*iqrār*), any claims of invalidating [irregularities] (*fasād*) in the aforementioned sale or of fraud (*ghabn-i fāḥish*),[51] either advertently or inadvertently (*maʿa al-ghurūr va bi-lā ghurūr*).[52]

These acknowledgements (*aqārīr*) [were made] when both [parties] were of sound mind (*fī ḥāli ṣiḥḥa ẕātihimā*),[53] in full possession of their mental faculties (*kamāli ʿuqūlihimā*), entirely of their own free will (*vufūri ṭavāʿiyatihimā*), and possessing all the legal rights to dispose of property (*nafāẕi jamīʿi taṣarrufātihimā al-sharʿiyya*), in the presence [at court] (*maḥẓar*)[54] of lawful notaries and witnesses (*ʿudūl va ṣiqāt*) whose names are inscribed at the bottom of this memorandum (*taẕkira*).[55]

Written on 22 Jumādā I 901 (i.e., February 8, 1496).

[50] For this use of the term *ṣadr* to mean the first part of a document, see Arends, Khalidov, and Chekhovich, *Bukharskii vakf*, 58, line 237.

[51] For this expression see Werner, "Formal Aspects," 29.

[52] For similar quittance clauses, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 85; also *Iz arkhiva sheikhov Dzhuibari*, 7.

[53] For similar formulae verifying capacity, see Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 93.

[54] This term is also often translated as "court document"—see Little, *Catalogue*, 44.

[55] Because the document was recorded in a formulary, the names of the witnesses were omitted.

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